

S O M E
LETTERS,

Containing

An Account of what Seemed most
Remarkable *in Travelling* through

SWITZERLAND,
ITALY,

Some parts of GERMANY, &c.
In the Years 1685. and 1686.

Written by G. Burnet, D.D. to the Hon^{ble} R. B.

*The Third Edition, Corrected, and Altered
in some places by the Author.*

To which is added, an *Appendix*, containing some *Remarks* on Switzerland and Italy, writ by a Person of
Quality, and communicated to the *Author*.

Together with a Table of the Contents of each Letter.

A M S T E R D A M

Printed for the *Widow Swart*, Bookseller
in the Beurs Stege, 1688.

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Printed for the Widow Swan, Bookseller
in the Bursary; 1688.

Together with a Table of the Contents, and Index.

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remarks on Switzerland and Italy, with a list of
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LETTERS

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The Fifth LETTER.

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S O M E

S O M E

LETTERS,

Containing

An account of what seemed most remarkable in *Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

Zurich, the first of September, 1685.

S I R,



T is so common to write *Travels*, that for one, who has seen so little, and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affection to be reckoned among *Voyagers*, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning *Places* so much visited, and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that do not offer themselves to all that *travel*, and having joyned to those, a curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ungrateful entertainment, if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: But I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary *Books*, for which I refer you to the *Prints*; for as you know, that I have no great inclination to copy what others have said, so a *traveller* has not leisure, nor humour enough, for so dull an employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery as appeared, not only in *Villages*, but even in big *Towns*, where all the marks of an

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extream poverty showed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almost in the looks of the Inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

Lions. I need tell you nothing of the irregular, and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*; of the noble Rivers that meet there; of the Rock Cut from so vast a height for a prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the *Jesuites* Colledge, and Library of the famous Nunnery of *S. Peter*, of the Churches, particularly *S. Irenees*, of the remnants of the *Aqueducts*, of the Columns and the old *Mosaick* in the *Abbey Dene*. In short, *Mr. Spon* has given such an account of the *Curiosities* there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of *Claudius* ingraven on a Plate of *Brass*, and set in the end of the low walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest Antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of silver of 22 pound weight, in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair captive to a *Celtiberian Prince*, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant; the embossing of it is so fine, and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture, it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many Inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium* hunc: there are 23. Inscriptions in the Garden of the Fathers of mercy; but so placed, as it shews how little those who possess them do either understand or value them. I shall only give you one, because I made a little reflection on it, tho it is not perhaps too well grounded, because none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The Inscription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit, facta est Impia: & Atque Probatiole, Cephilius Calistio Coniux & Pater, & filius*

vivo ponendum curavit & sub ascia dedicavit. This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimius*: But the *Inscription* seems so extravagant, that a man dedicating a Burial-stone for this *Wife* and *Son*, and under which himself was to be laid, with ceremonies of *Religion*, should tax his *Wife* of impiety, and give so extraordinary an Account of her becoming so thro an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the *impiety* was publick, otherwise a *Husband* would not have recorded it in such a manner; and it is plain that he thought it rose from an excess of *piety*.

I need not examin the conjectures of others: but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me, that this *Sutia Anthia* was a *Christian*; for the *Christians*, because they would not worship the *Gods* of the *Heathens*, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were accused both of *Atheism* and *Impiety*. This is so often objected, and the *Fathers* in their *Apologies* have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this *Wife* of *Cecilius Calistio* having turned *Christian*, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it the gives a honourable character of the *Christian Doctrine* at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety, his *Wife* was carried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of piety, could not avoid the falling under a distaste of *Paganism*, and the becoming *Christian*.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the learned *Grenoble* Mr. *Chorier* has some *Manuscripts* of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vigetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the Chapter of the life of the *Souldiers* he begins, *Scio semper mensuram a Mario Consule exactam*: A is in no *M S.* and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*; for *III.* which are for *trium*, have been read *M.* and

C. which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consale*; so the true reading of that passage is: *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another M. S. of about 5 or 6. hundred years old, in which *S. John's Revelation* is contained, all exemplified in *Figures*, and after that comes *Esops Fables* likewise, all designed in *Figures*; from which he inferred, that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally, and so put them together.

I will not describe the *Valley of Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a *Landskip* of the *Country*, which deserves a better pencil than mine, and in which the height and rudeness of the *Mountains*, that almost shut upon it, together with the beauty, the evenness and fruitfulness of the *Valley*, that is all along well watered with the *River of Liferre*, make such an agreeable mixture, that this vast diversity of objects, that do at once fill the *Eye*, gives it a very entertaining prospect.

Geneva. *Chambery* has nothing in it that deserves a long description; and *Geneva* is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little *State*, but it has so many good *Constitutions* in it, that the greatest may justly learn at it. The *Chamber of the Corn* has always two years provision for the *City* in store, and forces none but the *Bakers* to buy of it at a taxed price; and so it is both necessary for any extremities, under which the *State* may fall, and is likewise of great advantage; for it gives a good yearly income, that has helpt the *State* to pay near a *Million* of debt, contracted during the *Wars*; and the *Citizens* are not oppressed by it, for every *Inhabitant* may buy his own *Corn* as he pleases, only publick Houses must buy from the *Chamber*. And if one will compare the *Faith* of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter; for if good *Works* are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication of a good *Faith*, then *Justice*, being a good *Work* of the first form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

Pope. + At *Rome* the *Pope* buys in all the *Corn* of the *Patrimony*; for none of the *Landlords* can sell it either to *Merchants* or *Bakers*.

2nd. *Tableau de la Bour de Rome, par J. Aymon. 2^e ed. à la Haye. Amsterdam. 1726. 8^o. p. 39, 40.*
502.

Bakers. He buyes it at five *Crowns* their measure, and even that is slowly and ill payed, so that there was 800000. *Crowns* owing upon that score, when I was at Rome. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a *fifth part*, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five *Crowns* is sold out at *twelve*: and if the *Bakers*, who are obliged to take a determined quantity of *Corn* from the *Chamber*, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the *Chamber* discounts to them only the first price of five *Crowns*: whereas in *Geneva* the measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable, that it is very little beyond the common market price; so that upon the whole matter, the *Chamber of the Corn* is but the *Merchant to the State*. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the *Corn*, that, and all the other revenues of this small *Commonwealth* are so well employed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the administration of the publick purse: which with the advantages that arise out of the *Chamber of the Corn*, is about 100000 *Crowns* revenue. But there is much to go out of this; 300. *Souldiers* are payed; an *Arsenal* is maintained, that in proportion to the *State* is the greatest in the *World*; for it contains *Arms* for more *Men* than are in the *State*: there is a great number of *Ministers* and *Professors*, in all 24. payed out of it, besides all the publick charges and Offices of the *Government*. Every one of the lesser *Council* of 25. having a 100. *Crowns*, and every *Syndic* having 200. *Crowns* pension: and after all this come the accidental Charges of the *Deputies*, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*; so that it is very apparent no man can enrich himself at the cost of the Publick. And the appointments of the little *Council* are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly 4. or 5. hours a day. The Salary for the *Professors* and *Ministers* is indeed small, not above 200. *Crowns*; but to ballance this (which was a more com-

petent provision when it was first set off 150. years ago, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightned) those employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest *Citizens* in the *Town*, breed up their *Children* so, as to qualify them for those places. And a *Minister* that is fiteable to his character, is thought so good a match, that generally they have such *Estates* either by succession, or marriage, as support them fiteably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small sum goes a great way. It is a surprising thing to see so much *learning* as one finds in *Geneva*, not only among those whose profession obliges them to study, but among the *Magistrates* and *Citizens*; and if there are not many men of the first form of *learning* among them, yet every body almost here has a good tincture of a learned education, in so much, that they are *masters* of the *Latin*, they know the *Controversies* of *Religion*, and *History*, and they are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal *Civility*, not only towards *Strangers*, but towards one another, that reigns all the *Town* over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick *Justice* of the *City* is quick and good, and is more commended than the private *Justice* of those that deal in trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the *Town* well. There is no publick leudness tolerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, *drinking* is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their *Law* is the way of selling *Estates*, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subhastation*, from the *Roman* custum of selling *Subhasta*. A man that is to buy an *Estate*, agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the *Government*; who order three several proclamations to be made six *Weeks* one after another of the intended

ded sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the *Estate* is sold at an under value, may out-bid the Buyer; but if they do not interpose, the Buyer delivers the money to the *State*, which upon that, gives him his title to the *Estate*, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in Law; and the price is payed into the *State*, and is by them given either to the Creditors of the Seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This Custom prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also *twelve years* possession gives a prescription; so that in no place of the World are the *titles to Estates* so secure as here. The constitution of the *Government* is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The *Sovereignty* lies in the *Council* of 200. and this *Council* chuses out of its number 25. who are the *lesser Council*; and the censure of the 25. belong to the *great Council*, they are chosen by a sort of *Ballot*, so that it is not known for whom they give their *votes*, which is an effectual method to suppress factions and resentments; since in a competition, no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the *Election* is not so carried, but that the whole *Town* is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the *little Council* leads one to the *Sindicat*, which is the Chief honour of the *State*; this dignity is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition, as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200. are chosen and censured by the 25. so that these two *Councils*, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The *Magistracy* is in the one, and the *Sovereignty* in the other. The number of 25. is never exceeded in the *lesser Council*; but for the *greater*, tho' it passes by the name of the *Council* of 200. yet there are commonly 8 or 10. more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number, they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another *Council* besides these two, composed of 60. consisting of those of the 200. that have born *Officers*, such as *Auditors*, *Attorney-Generals*,

vals, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this Court has no *Authority*, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it advisable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the Resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State, that only gives advice, but has no power in itself to enforce its advice. The whole body of the *Burgesses* chuse the *Syndics* the first Sunday of the year; and there are some other *Elections* that do likewise belong to them. The difference between the *Burgesses* and *Citizens* is, that the former degree may be bought, or given to *Strangers*, and they are capable to be of the 200; but none is a *Citizen* but he that is the Son of a *Burgess*, and that is born within the Town.

I need say no more of the Constitution of this little Republick, its chief support is in the firm Alliance that has stood now so long between it, and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*; and it is so visibly the interest of all *Switzerland*, to preserve it, as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their Interest so palpably, in suffering the *French* to become Masters of the *Franche Comte*, one would think that they would not be capable of suffering *Geneva* to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can signify no more, but to put it in case to resist a surprise, or scalade: since if a Royal Army comes against it, to besiege it in form, it is certain, that unless the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raise the siege, those within will be able to make a very short resistance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud*, *Lausanne* or the Valley, and *Lausanne* its Chief Town, in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Lausanne* is situated on three Hills, so that the whole Town is ascent and descent, and that very steep, chiefly on the side on which the Church stands, which is a very noble Fabrique. The South-wall of the *Crofs* was so split by an *Earthquake*, about 30. years ago, that there

was

was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide & which was so closed *ten years* after by another *Earthquake*, that now one only sees where the breach was. This extravagant situation of the Town was occasioned by a Legend of some *miracles* wrought near the *Church*: which prevailed so much on the credulity of that *age*, that by it the *Church*, and so in consequence the Buildings near it were added to the old *Town*, which stood on the other *Hill*, where there was a *Town* made on the highway from the *Lake* into *Switzerland*, to which the chief privileges of the *Town*, particularly the judicature of life and death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this, lies the *Lake* which at the one end is called the *Lake of Geneva*, and at the other the *Lake of Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it, which are so well known, only in some places the *depth* has never been found; for it is more than 500 *Fathom*; the Banks of the *Lake* are the beautifullest plots of ground that can be imagined; for they look as if they hath been laid by art; the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where: the *Lake* is well stockt with excellent *Fish*, but their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost; it is not only to be ascribed to the ravenousness of the *Pikes* that abound in it, but to another sort of *Fish* that they call *Moutails*, which were never taken in the *Lake* till within these *six years* last past; they are in the *Lake of Neuf-Chastel*, and some of the other *Lakes* of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance under ground they may have come into Channels that fall into this *Lake*: the Water of the *Lake* is all clear and fresh. It is not only a great pond made by the *Rhofne*, that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixed, as some *Travellers* have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the gale varying its place often. But it is believed, that there are also many great *Fountains* all over the *Lake*.

These Springs do very probably flow from some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring *Mountains*, which are as great *Cisterns*, that discharge themselves in the *Valleys*, which are covered over with *Lakes*. And on the two sides of the *Alpes*, both North and South, there is so great a number of those little *Seas*, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge ponds. And when one considers the height of those *Hills*, the chain of so many of them together, & their extent both in length and breadth; if at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagin, according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the *Author* of Nature; but are the vast ruins of the first *World*, which at the *Deluge* broke here into so many inequalities.

One *Hill* not far from *Geneva*, called *Maudis* or *Cursed*, of which one third is alwayes covered with Snow, is two miles of perpendicular heighr, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher, *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22. years of age is already one of the greatest Men of his age, and seems to be born to carry learning some sifes beyond what it has yet attained.

Bern. But now I will entertain you a little with the *State of Canton Bern*; for that *Canton* alone is above a third part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its beginning nor History, nor will I enlarge upon the Constitution, which are all well known. It has a *Council* of 200. that goes by that name, tho it consists almost of 300. and another of 25. as *Geneva*. The Chief *Magistrates* are two *Advoyers*, who are not annual, as the *Sindics* of *Geneva*, but are for life; and have an authority not unlike that of the *Roman Consuls*, each being his year by turns the *Advoyer* in office. After them, there are the four *Bannerets*, who answer to the *Triunes* of the *People* in *Rome*: then come the two *Bursars* or *Treasurers*, one for the ancient *German Territory*, the other

other for the *French Territory*, or the Country of *Vaud*; and the two last chosen of the 25. are called *the Secrets*; for to them all secrets relating to the *State* are discovered: and they have an authority of calling the 200. together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the *Magistracy*, the *Advoyers* themselves not excepted, as they see cause: tho this falls out seldom.

There are 72. *Bailiages*, into which the whole *Canton of Bern* is divided; and in every one of those there is a *Bailif* named by the *Council* of 200. who must be a *Citizen of Bern*, and one of the 200. to which *Council* no man can be chosen till he is married: these *Bailiages* are employments both of Honour and profit: for the *Bailif* is the *Governour* and *Judge* in that *Jurisdiction*: since tho he has some *Assessors*, who are chosen out of the *Bailiage*, yet he may by his Authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions, and the *Bailiffs* have all the *Confiscations* and *fines*; so that *drinking* being so common in the Country, and that producing many quarrels, the *Bailif* makes his advantage of all those disorders: and in the 6 years of his Government, according to the quality of his *Bailiage*, he not only lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000. *Crowns* with him back to *Bern*: on which he lives till he can carry another *Bailiage*: for one is capable of being twice *Bailif*; but tho some have been *thrice Bailifs*, this is very extraordinary. The *Exactions* of the *Bailif* are the only *Impositions* or charges to which the *Inhabitants* are subjected, and these falling only on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes that this grievance, tho in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt: for a sober and regular Man is in no danger. Many in this *Canton* are as in *England* Lords of *Castles*, or *Mannors*, and have a *Jurisdiction* annexed to their *Estates*, and name their *Magistrate*, who is called the *Castellan*. In matters of small consequence there lies no appeal from him to the *Bailif*, but beyond the value of two *Pistols* an appeal lies, and no sentence of *death* is executed, till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an Appeal

from the *Bailif* to the *Council* at *Bern*. There are many complaints of the injustice of the *Bailifs*: but their *Law* is short and clear, so that a suit is soon ended; two or three hearings is the most, that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the *Bailif*, or in the second Judgement at *Bern*. The *Citizens of Bern* consider these *Bailiages* as their Inheritance, and they are courted in this *State* perhaps with as much Intrigue, as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their *Provinces*: and so little signify the best Regulations when there are Intrinsick diseases in a *state*, that tho there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these *Bailifs*, yet that has not preserved this *state* from falling under so great a mischief by those little *Provinces*; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruin of this *Republick*. All the *Electors* give their voices by *ballot*, so that they are free from all after game in the nomination of the person: all the kindred of the pretenders, even to the remotest degrees, are excluded from voting, as are also all their creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the issue of the competition, and yet there is so much intrigue, and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion, is the catching of the best *Bailiages*, on which a family will have its Eye for many years before they fall; for the *Counsellors* of *Bern* give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry them: all that they propose is, to make a *Bailiage* sure to them: for this, they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes; but it is the *chamber* of the *Bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the competition. When the *Bailif* is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few crimes pass, that carry either confiscations or fines after them; his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the *Bailiage* may complain to the *Council at Bern*, as the
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oppressed *Provinces* did anciently to the *Senate of Rome*; and there have been severe judgments against some very exorbitant *Bailifs*; yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the *Bailifs*, so it being the general interest of the *Citizens of Bern* to make all possible advantages of those employments, the censure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little *Trade*, only what is necessary for the support of the *Town*. They maintain *Professors* in the Universities of *Bern*, and *Lausanne*; the one for the *German Territory*, which is the Ancient *Canton*; and the other for the new Conquest, which is the *French*: In the former there are about 300. *Parishes*; in the latter there are but about 150: But in the *Benefices* of the *German* side, the ancient Rights of the incumbents are generally preserved so, that some *Benefices* are worth a thousand *Crowns*: Whereas in the *païs des Vaud*, the provisions are set off as salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred *Crowns*: It is visible, that those of *Bern* trust more to the affections and fidelity of their *subjects*, than to the strength of their *Walls*; For as they have never finished them, so what is built, cannot be brought to a regular fortification; and it is not preserved with any care, nor furnished with *Canon*; but if they have none on their *Ramparts*, they have good store in their *Arsenal*, in which they say there are *Arms* for forty thousand Men.

The *Peasants* are generally rich, chiefly on the *German* side, and are all well *Armed*; they pay no duties to the Publick; and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well, that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who, as I was told, had of *Estate* to the value of an hundred thousand *Crowns*, but that is not ordinary; yet ten thousand *Crowns* for a *Peasant*, is no extraordinary matter. They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places, as about *Payerne*, yields an encrease of 15. measures after one: they breed many *Horses*, which bring them in a great deal of money.

ney. The worst thing in the Countrey is, the moisture of the *Air*, which is not only occasioned by the many *Lakes* that are in it, and the Neighbouring *Mountains* that are covered with *Snow*, some all the summer long, and the rest till Mid-Summer; but by the vast quantity of Woods of *Fir-trees*, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil; and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their *Air* would be much purer; yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fuel, this cannot be done. I was told, that they had found *Coal* in some places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers it can be easily carried over the Country, it may save them a great extent of ground; that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholesome.

They have some Fountains of *Salt-water*, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The *Men* are generally sincere, but heavy; they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal entertainments; and they are well furnished with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good *Cattle*, so their Lakes abound in *Fish*, and their Woods in *Fowl*, the *Wine* is also light and good. The *Women* are generally employed in their domestick Affairs: and the *Wives* even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest Peasants. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physitian there told me, *they know not what Vapours are*, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere; whereas, he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were:

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The *third Adultery* is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the *fifth* act of *Fornication*, of which I saw an instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman, who confessed her self guilty of many *Whoredoms*, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was solemn; for the *Advoyer* comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole Process was read, and Sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: the Councillors both of the great and lesser Council standing about the *Advoyer*, who after Sentence took the Criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul; and after Execution, there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole *State* is disposed for *War*; for every man that can bear Arms is listed; and knows his Post and Arms; and there are *Beacons* so laid over the Country, that the signal can run over the whole *Canon* in a night: And their Military *Lists* are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that upon a General Summons they could bring above 80000 *Men* together. The *Men* are robust and strong, and capable of great hardship, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extream sense of Liberty, and a great love to their Country; but they labour under a want of Officers. And tho the subjects of the *State* are Rich, yet the publick is poor; they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Country; but they would soon grow weary of a long War; and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Country: they were indeed as happy as a people could be, when the *Emperour* had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reason to fear their Neighbours; but now that both those

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Provinces are in the hands of the *French*, the case is quite altered; for as *Bafil* is every moment in danger from the Garrison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Cannon shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither Fortified Places, nor good Passes to secure it; so that their error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it; and will here given you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very Eminent Post, so that as he certainly knew the Secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me, that the *Duke of Lorraine* had often moved in the *Councils of War*, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified; this he repeated often, and it was known in *France*: so that the *King* resolved to possess himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Switzers*, he offered a neutrality on that side: but the *Spaniards*, who judged right, that it was as much the interest of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs, to preserve the *Comté* in their hands, refused to consent to it; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the *Switzers*.

In the mean while, the *French Money* went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after those that were most likely to make opposition were gained, the *French Minister* proposed to them the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account, if the *Spaniards* would agree to it; and with this all the Assurances that could be given in Words were offered to them, that they should never find the least Prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary, all possible Protection. There was just Cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their Deliberation: for they would neither accept of the Neutrality, nor send a considerable force to preserve the Country,

so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* Proposition; but one proposed that which an unbiassed Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the Country; and by so doing, they would secure the Neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire; and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards*, and reimburse themselves of the Expence of the Invasion, by restoring the Country to them, when a General Peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their Country must be reduced by so powerful a Neighbour; but all was lost labour; so he went out in a rage, and published through the Town, that *the State was sold, and all was lost*. They now see their error too late, and would repair it, if it were possible; but the truth is, many of the particular *Members* of this State, do so prey upon the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in a condition to do much: for in many of their *Bailiages*, of which some are *Abbeys*, the *Bailiffs* not only feed on the *Subjects*, but likewise on the *State*, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the Receivers, for their Reimbursement: which made *Mr. d'Erlack* once say, when one of those Accounts was presented, *That it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks*. It is true, the power of their *Bannerets* is so great, that one would think they might redress many Abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our *Companies of London*, which are the *Bakers*, the *Butchers*, the *Tanners*, and the *Black-smiths*; and every Citizen of *Bern* does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call *Abbeys*; for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a Religious Fraternity: every one of these chuses two *Bannerets*, who bear office by turns from four years to four years, and every one of them has a *Bailiage* annexed to his Office, which he holds for life.

life. They carry their name from the *Banners* of the several *Abbeys*, as the *Gonsaloniers* of *Italy*: and the *Advoyers* carry still their name from the ancient title *Ecdicus*, or *Advocate*, that was the title of the Chief *Magistrates* of the *Towns* in the times of the *Roman Emperours*. The Chamber of the Four *Bannerets* that bear Office, has a vast Power, they examine and pass all Accounts, and they admit all the Competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the *Council* of 200. without their Approbation; and this being now the Chief Intrigue of their *State*, they have so absolute an Authority in shutting men out from employments, that their office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the *Advoyer*, tho they are inferiour to him in rank. They manage matters with great address, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the *Advoyership* not long ago; there was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred, nor Alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favored, so they set up a third competitor, whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the *Election* went according to the design of the *Bannerets*. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning *Advoyer* when I was there, is *Mr. d'Erlack*, Nephew to that *Mr. d'Erlack*, who was *Governour* of *Brisack*, and had a brevet to be a *Marischal* of *France*; this is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in shaking off the *Austrian Tyranny*, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobility. The present *Head* of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great Authority in his *Canton*, not only as he is *Advoyer*, but by the particular esteem which is paid him. For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the *State*, tho it is somewhat strange how he should

should bear such a sway in such a *Government*; for he neither feasts, nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great Sobriety and Gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a *Minister of State* in a *Monarchy*, than a *Magistrate* in a *Popular Government*; For one sees in him none of those Arts, that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate, and no Children; so he has no Projects for his Family; and does what he can to correct the Abuses of the *State*, tho' the disease is inveterate, and seems past cure.

He had a Misfortune in a *War* that was thirty years ago, in the year 1656. between the *Popish* and the *Protestant Cantons*: the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a *Law* agreed on among all the *Cantons*, that every *Canton* may make what Regulations concerning *Religion* they think fit, without prejudice to the *General League*. Now the *Popish Cantons* have made *Laws*, that it shall be capital to any to change their *Religion*, and on a set day every year they go all to *Mass*, and the *Masters of Families* swear to continue true to the *State*, and firm in their *Religion* to their lives end; and so they pretend they punish their falling into *Heretic* with death and Confiscation of Goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand, in the *Protestant Cantons*, such as turn are only obliged to go and live out of the *Canton*; but for their Estates, they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the merciful Spirit of the *Gospel*, in the one, than in the other. In two *Cantons*, *Appenzel*, and *Glarus*, both Religions are tolerated, and are capable of equal Priviledges, and in some *Bailiages* that were conquered in common by the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two *Cantons* name the *Bailiffs* by turns, and both Religions are so equally tolerated, that in the same *Church* they have both *Mass* and *Sermon*, so equally, that on one Sunday, the *Mass* begins,

begins, and the *Sermon* follows, and the next Sunday the *Sermon* begins, and the *Mass* comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the year 1656. some of the *Cantons* of *Schwitz* changing their *Religion*, and retiring to *Zurich*, their *Estates* were confiscated; and some others, that had also changed, but had not left the *Canton*, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the *Estates* of the refugees, but instead of granting this, the *Canton* of *Schwitz* demanded back their subjects, that they might proceed against them as delinquents; and they founded this on a Law, by which the *Cantons* are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another *Canton*, when they come among them, if they are demanded by the *Canton* to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhuman and unchristian; tho the *Deputy* of *Basil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extremely disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Schwitz* committed some insolences upon the subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the *Protestant* and *Papish* *Cantons*. The *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 25000 Men, which was commanded by Mr. d'Er-lack, but was dispersed in several Bodies; and the *Papish* had not above 6000; yet they surprised Mr. d'Er-lack with a body not much superiour to theirs; both sides after a short engagement run; the Canon of the *Canton* of *Bern* was left in the Field a whole day; at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to defend the Canon, carried them off; this loss raised such a tumult in *Bern*, that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. d'Er-lack: but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the Misfortune, that the Tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that tho the *Papists* acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other *Canton* could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Schwitz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some quar-

rels like to arise in the *Canton of Glaris*, where it was said, that the equal privileges agreed on to both *Religions* were not preserved; but on this occasion the *Popes Nuncio* acted a very different part from that which might have been expected from him; For whereas the *Ministers* of that *Court* have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the disputes that concern *Religion*, he acted rather the part of a Mediator; and whereas it was visible, that the injustice lay on the side of the *Papists*, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the *Papish Cantons*, that the difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*; the buildings have neither great *Bern-Town* magnificence, nor many Apartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in the Country. The *Streets* not only of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest *Villages*, are furnished with *Fountains* that run continually; which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick; but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it, they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a Platform made, which is a square, to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast Wall, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me, that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into vaults; this plat-form is the chief walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the *River* underneath presents a very beautiful prospect: For there is a Cut taken off from it for the Mills, but all along as this Cut goes, the Water of *Sar* runs over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say, was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large *Cascade*.

The second Church is the *Dominicans Chappel*, where I saw the famous hole that went to an *Image* in the Church, from one of the *Cells* of the *Dominicans*, which leads me to set down that Story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats, that the World has known:

known; so it falling out about *twenty years* before the *Reformation* was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the *original process* in the *Latin record*, signed by the *Notaries* of the Court of the *delegates* that the *Pope* sent to try the matter. The record is above 130 sheets, writ close, and of all sides, it being indeed a large volum; and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous *Orders*, that had possessed themselves the esteem of those dark ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The *Dominicans* were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those times, and had the conduct of the *Courts of Inquisition*, and the other chief offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand, the *Franciscans* had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty: all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the *Dominican Order*. In short, the two *Orders* were engaged in a high rivalry, but the devotion towards the *Virgin* being the prevailing passion of those times, the *Franciscans* upon this had great advantages. The *Dominicans*, that are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to assert, that she was born in *Original Sin*; this was proposed to the people by the *Franciscans* as no less than *Blasphemy*, and by this the *Dominicans* began to lose ground extreamly in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favour of the *immaculate Conception*.

About the beginning of the 15th Century, a *Franciscan* happened to preach in *Frankfort*, and one *Wigand* a *Dominican* coming into the Church, the *Cordelier* seeing him, broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that prophaned the *Virgin*; or that poysoned *Princes* in the Sacrament, (for a *Dominican* had poysoned the Emperor *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament,) *Wigand* being extreamly provoked with this bloody reproach, gave

him the Lye, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult, that had almost cost the *Dominican* his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a *Chapter*, held at *Vimpfen* in the year 1504. they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the reputation of the *Franciscans*, four of the juncto undertook to manage the design; for they said, since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables, they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern*, at that time apt to Swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe Enquiries into extraordinary Matters. When they had formed their design, a fit Tool presented it self; for one *Fetzer* came to take their habit as a *Lay-brother*, who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project: For he was extream simple, and was much inclined to Austerities, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project, the very Night after he took the *Habit*, which was, on *Lady-day* 1507. one of the *Fryers* conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in *Purgatory*, in a strange figure, and he had a Box near his mouth, upon which as he blew, fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him, that appeared as his Tormentors, in this posture he came near the *Fryer*, while he was a Bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their *Fryers*, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superiour of their House at *Soloturn*, had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his habit, was killed in his Lay-habit. The *Fryer* in the *Vizar* said, he was that person, and was condemned to *Purgatory* for that Crime; but he added, that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible Cries, expressing the Miseries which he suffered. The poor *Fryer* (*Fetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced, and required a Promise of him to do that

that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his Torment. The frighted *Fryer* promised all that he asked of him; then the other said, he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinary; The whole *Monastery* must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a *Cross*, in one of their *Chappels*, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it; and he added, that if he did this, he should find the effects of the love that the *B. Virgin* did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things; and said, he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits; and assured him, that all that he did suffer for his deliverance, should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than the *Fryer* gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the *Convent*, who seemed extremely surprised at it; they all pressed him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his share; so the deluded *Fryer* performed it all exactly in one of the *Chappels* of their *Church*: This drew a vast number of Spectators together, who all considered the poor *Fryer* as a Saint, and in the mean while the four *Fryers* that managed the imposture, magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the skies in their Sermons. The *Fryer's* Confessor was upon the Secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor *Fryer's* life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The *Confessor* gave him an *Hostie*, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the *Cross*, and by these he was to fortify himself, if any other Apparition should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The Night after that, the former Apparition was renewed, and the masqued *Fryer* brought two others with him in such Vizards, that the *Fryer* thought they were Devils indeed. The *Fryer* presented the *Hostie* to them, which gave them such a check, that

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The *Fryer*, that pretended he was suffering in *Purgatory*, said so many things to him relating to the Secrets of his life, and Thoughts, which he had from the *Confessor*, that the poor *Fryer* was fully possessed with the opinion of the reality of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions, that were both managed in the same manner, the *Fryer* in the Masque talked much of the *Dominican Order*, which he said was excessively dear to the *B. Virgin*, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the *Doctors* who taught the contrary were in *Purgatory*: That the Story of *S. Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgery: but that it was true, that some hideous Flies had appeared on *St. Bonaventures Tomb*, who taught the contrary. That the *B. Virgin* abhorred the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son; that *Scotus* was damned, whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*; and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the *Spirit* appeared again, and said, he was now delivered out of *Purgatory*, but before he could be admitted to Heaven, he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The *Fryer* fancied the voice resembled the *Priors* a little, but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some dayes after this, the same *Fryer* appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor *Frier*, that she was *St. Barbary*, for whom he had a particular devotion; and added, that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the *Convent* together, and gave the rest of the *Fryers* an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the *Fryer* languished in desires of the accomplishment

of the promise, that *St. Barbara* had made him. After some dayes, the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the *Virgin* used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: there were about her some *Angels*, which he afterwards found were the little Statues of Angels, which they set on the Altars on the great Holy Dayes. There was also a pulley fastned in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the Air, and flie about the *Virgin*, which increased the delusion. The *Virgin*, after some endearments to himself, extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him, that she was conceived in Original Sin, and that *Pope Julius the Second*, that then reigned, was to put an end to the Dispute, and was to abolish the Feast of her Conception, which *Sixtus the fourth* had instituted, and that the *Fryer* was to be the Instrument of perswading the *Pope* of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Son's blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was three hours in Original Sin, after which she was, by his Mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the *Dominicans* were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her Conception in Sin; yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the *Virgin*, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of Blood in the form of a Cross, which were Tears of Blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented an *Hostie* to him, that appeared as an ordinary *Hostie*, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused *Fryer*; at last the *Virgin* told him, that she was to give him such marks of her Son's Love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt.

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She said, that the five wounds of St. Lucia, and S. Catharine, were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him; so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much: but she forced his hand, and struck a nail thro it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly thro it; this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an Oyntment, with which she anointed it, tho his *Confessor* perswaded him, that that was only an imagination, so the supposed *Virgin* left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some linnen Clothes, which had some real or imaginary vertue to allay his Torment: and the pretended *Virgin* said, they were some of the Linnings in which Christ was wrapped, and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were, inprinted on his body, in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this, the *Friers* betook themselves to Charms, and the *Subprior* shewed the rest a book full of them; but he said, that before they could be effectual, they must renounce God, and he not only did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing signed with his Blood, he dedicated himself to the Deyl; it is true, he did not oblige the rest to this, but only to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the Hairs of the Eyebrows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some grains of Incense, somewhat of an Easter Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptized Child. This Composition was a secret, which the *Subprior* did not communicate to the other *Friers*. By this the poor Frier *Fetzer* was made almost quite insensible: when he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderful impression on his body: and now he was ravished out

of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion: he was exposed to the people on the great Altar, to the amasement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts that threw him into convulsions, and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came thro that hole which yet remains, and runs from one of the *Cells* along a great part of the wall of the *Church*: for a *Frier* spoke thro a pipe, and at the End of the hole there was an *Image* of the *Virgins*, with a little *Jesus* in her arms, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come; the *Image* also seemed to shed Tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her Face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little *Jesus* askt, why she wept? and she said, it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said, that she was born without sin; in Conclusion, the *Fryers* did so over act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded *Fryer* himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the order.

It was in vain to delude him with more *Apparitions*; for he well nigh kill'd a *Fryer* that came to him personating the *Virgin* in another shape with a Crown on her head: he also over-heard the *Fryers* once talking amongst themselves, of the Contrivance and Success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole Matter, and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a Discovery could inspire him.

The *Fryers* fearing that an imposture, which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole Matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief person of the *Order*; and in the end they persuaded him to go on with the Imposture: but at last, they fearing lest he should

should discover all, resolved to poyson him; of which he was so apprehensive, that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green, he threw it to some young Wolves Whelps that were in the Monastery, who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous, that tho they gave him Poyson five several times, he was not destroyed by it; they also prest him earnestly to renounce God, which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their effect on him; but he would never consent to that: at last they forced him to take a poysoned *Hostie*, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down; that failing, they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further Torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the secret, but would still carry it on; and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the *Convent*, and of throwing himself into the hands of the *Magistrates*, to whom he discovered all.

The four *Fryers* were seised on, and put in prison, and an account of the whole Matter was sent, first to the *Bishop of Lausanne*, and then to *Rome*; and it may be easily imagined, that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have it well examined; the *Bishop of Lausanne*, and of *Zyon*, with the *Provincial* of the *Dominicans*, were appointed to form the Process. The four *Fryers* first excepted to *Fetzer's* credit; but that was rejected: then being threatned with the *Question*, they put in a long plea against that; but tho the *Provincial* would not consent to that, yet they were put to the question; some endured it long; but at last, they all confessed the whole progress of the Imposture. The *Provincial* appeared concerned; for tho *Fetzer* had opened the whole Matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him; on the contrary, he Charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the *Friers* said plainly, that he was in the whole secret, and so he withdrew; but he died some dayes after at *Constance*, having

poyson'd himself, as was believed. The Matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that, a *Spanish Bishop* came, authoris'd with full power from *Rome*; and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four *Friers* were solemnly degraded from their *Priesthood*, and Eight dayes after, it being the last of *May* 1509. they were *Burnt* in a *Meadow*, on the other side of the *River*, over against the great *Church*; The place of their *Execution* was shewed me, as well as the Hole in the Wall, thro which the *Vice* was Conveyed to the *Image*. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best Carried on Cheat, that has been ever known; and no doubt had the poor *Fryer* died, before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity, as one of the greatest *Miracles* that ever was; and it gives a shrewd suspicion, that many of the other *Miracles*, of that *Church*, were of the same nature, but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the *State of Bern*, but shall only add one general remark: which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection: it belongs in general to all the *Cantons*, but I give it here, because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more, and stayed longer in it, than in the other *Cantons*.

Switzer-land lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more Rich, and better furnished with all the Pleasures and Conveniences of Life than it is; and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery, that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which it can shew it self, both in their houses, furniture, cloths and looks.

On the Contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of people, and in several places in the *Villages*, as well

as in their towns, one sees all the marks he can look for of Plenty and Wealth, their Houses and windows are in good case, the High Wayes are well maintained, all people are well Clothed: and every one lives at his ease. This Observation surpris'd me yet more in the Countrey of the Grisons, who have almost no soil at all, being situated in Valleys, that are almost all washed away with the Torrents, that fall down from the Hills, and swell their brooks sometimes so violently, and so suddenly, that in many places the whole soil is washed away, and yet those Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such Misery, that as many of the inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so those who stay behind, can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them; the rude people generally reason very simply when they enter into Speculations of Government, but they feel true, tho they argue false; so an easy Government, tho joyned to an ill soil, and accompanied with great inconveniences, draws, or at least keeps people in it; whereas a severe Government, tho in generall ideas it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from Bern to this place I pass'd by Solothurn, and I came thro Fribourg in my way from Lausanne to Bern; these are two of the Chief of the Popish Cantons, after Lucerne, and one sees in them a heat, and bigotry beyond what appears either in France or Italy: long before they come within the Church doors they kneel down in the Streets when Mass is a saying in it. The Images are also extream gross. In the Chief Church of Solothurn there is an Image of God the Father, as an old man with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigeon over his head. Here also begins a devotion at the Ave-Mary-bel, which is scarce known in France, but is practis'd all Italy over: At noon and at Sun set the Bell rings, and all say

the *Ave-Mary*, and a short prayer to the *Virgin*; but whereas in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets; which I saw no where practised in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the *Canton of Lucern*, where there is a spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other *Popish Cantons*: the residence of the *Spanish Ambassador*, and of the *Nuntio*, in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated. The *Jesuits* begin to grow as powerful in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere: they have a noble *Colledge* and *Chapel* situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a revenue of 1000 *Livres* a year, set off for the maintenance of ten of them, with this provision, that they should never exceed that number; but where they are once settled, they find means to break through all Limitations; and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a *Church* and *Colledge*, which will cost before it is finished above 400000. *Livres*, to which the *French King* gives 10000 *Livres* for the frontis-piece: For this being the *Canton* in which his *Ambassador* resides, he thought it sureable to his glory, to have a monument of his bounty raised by an order, that will never be wanting to flatter their benefactors, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same *Canton* there is an *Abbey* that has 100000 *Livres* of revenue; there is also a very rich House of *Nuns*, that wear the *Capuchins* Habit, that as I was told had 60000 *Livres* of revenue, and but 60 *Nuns* in it, who having thus 1000 *Livres* apiece, may live in all

all possible plenty in a Countrey where a very little money goes a great way: But that which surprises one most at *Solothurn*, is, the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the noblest and solidest that is any where to be seen; the Stone with which it is faced, is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that bigness, that many Stones are 10 foot long, and two foot of breadth and thickness: But tho this will be a work of vast Expence and great Beauty, yet it would signifie little against a great Army that would attack it vigorously. The Wall is finished on the side of the River on which the Town stands, the Ditch is very broad, and the *Counterscarp* and *Glasier* are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other side of the River, which they intend to fortify in the same manner. This has cost them near two millions of *Livres*; and this vast expence has made them often repent the undertaking; and it is certain, that a fortification that is able to resist the rage of their Peasants in the case of a Rebellion, is all that is needful. This Canton has two *Advoyers*, as *Bern*; the little Council consists of 36, they have 12 *Bailiages* belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them, they have one *Bursar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the Cantons have their *Bailiages*; but if there are disorders at *Bern* in the choice of their *Bailifs*, there are far greater among the *Popish Cantons*, where all things are sold, as a *forreign Minister* that resides there told me, who tho he knew what my Religion was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the *Catholick Cantons* were not near so well governed as the *Protestant Cantons*. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with *forreign Princes*, they have sometimes taken money both from the *French* and *Spanish Ambassadors*, and have signed contradictory *Articles* at the same time.

Baden has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation, which makes it the seat of the

the *general Dyet* of the *Cantons*, tho it is not one of them, but is a *Bailiage* that belongs in common to eight of the ancient *Cantons*. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the *Cantons*, so with relation to us, it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the first that received the *Reformation*.

Zurich. This *Canton* is much less than *Bern*, yet the publick is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000. Men together upon 24. hours warning, their subjects live happy: for the *Bailifs* here have regulated appointments, and have only the *hundred Penny* of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the Fine belongs entirely; to strain matters against their Subjects: and whereas at *Bern* the constant intrigue of the whole *Town* is concerning their *Bailiages*; here on the contrary, it is a service to which the *Citizens* are bound to submit according to their Constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The *Government* is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the *Magistran* that is called the *Advoyer* at *Bern*, is here called the *Bourgomaster*. The revenue of the *State* is here justly accounted for, so that the publick Purse is much richer than at *Bern*; the *Arsenal* is much better furnished, and the *Fortifications* are more regular. There is a great trade stirring here; and as their *Lake*, that is 24. miles long, and about two or three Broad, supplies them well with provisions, so their *River* carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their Chief Manufacturies is *Crape*, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the situation of the *Town*, but shall content my self to tell you, that it is extream pleasant, the *Countrey* about it is *Mounianous*, and the *Winters* are hard; for the *Lake* freezes quite over, only in some places the ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some *Springs* rise there, which cause that heat; so also in the *Lake* of *Geneva*, tho it is never quite frozen, yet great flakes of Ice lie in several parts; but these are never seen in some parts

parts of the *Lake*, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to *Zurich*; one sees here the true ancient Simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted which Luxury or Vanity; their Women not only do not converse familiarly with men, except those of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the Civility of Strangers; for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women; but they make no Courtships: and here, as in all *Switzerland*, Women are not saluted, but the civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of *Zurich*, that is, their little Council consists of 50 persons, but there sit in it only 25. at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Bourgomaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six months, at *Mid-summer* and at *Christ-Mass*. The whole Canton is divided into nine great *Bailiages*, and 21 *Castellaneries*; in the former the *Bailif* resides Constantly; but the *Castellan*, who is also one of the great Council, has so little to do, that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes only at some set times of the year to do justice.

The virtue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the ancient Capitulations with the *French*; and not slackening in any Article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where money has a Sovereign influence: but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient *Revenues* of the Church more generally to pious Uses, than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many *Hospitals* well entertained; in one, as I was told, there was 650 poor kept: but as they support the real Charities, which belong to such endowments, so they despise that vain Magnificence of Buildings, which is too generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are very plain; and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, That they thought it enough to maintain their

their Poor as Poor; and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The *Dean and Chapter* are likewise still continued as a corporation, and enjoy the *revenues* which they had before the *Reformation*; but if they subsist plentifully, they labour hard; for they have generally two or three Sermons a day, and at least one: the first begins at five a clock in the morning. At *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the *Reformation* from the Mass. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole Chapter, and an exhortation upon it; and if this were so contrived, that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the People with less Weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast Advantage to the Preachers; For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having once made themselves Masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple Discourses would cost them less pains, than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the *Archives* of the *Dean and Chapter*, there is a vast Collection of *Letters*, written either to *Bullinger*, or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many *Volums in Folio*, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the *History of the Reformation*: For as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English Exiles* in *Queen Marius* Reign, in particular to *Sands*, afterwards *Arch-Bishop of York*; to *Horn*, afterwards *Bishop of Winchester*; and to *Jewel*, *Bishop of Salisbury*. He gave them lodgings in the *Cloze*, and used them with all possible kindness, and as they presented some *Silver-Cups* to the *Colledge*, with an Inscription, acknowledging the kind Reception they had found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a

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constant Correspondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-establishment of the *Reformation* under *Queen Elizabeth*: Of which I read almost a whole *Volume* while I was there: Most of them contain only the general news, but some were more important, and relate to the Disputes then on foot, concerning the *Habits of the Clergy*, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy Divisions: and by the *Letters*, of which I read the *Originals*, it appears, that the *Bishops* preserved the ancient *Habits* rather in compliance with the *Queens* inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them, that they plainly express their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a *Letter* bearing date the 8. of *February* 1566. wishes, that the *Vestments*, together with all the other Remnants of *Popery*, might be thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the People; and laments the *Queens* fixedness to them, so that she would suffer no change to be made. And, in *January* of the same year, *Sands* writes to the same purpose. *Contenditur de vestibus Papisticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the *Popish Vestments*, whether they should be used or not; but God will put an end to those things. *Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester*, went further; For in a *Letter*, dated the 16th of *July*, 1565. He writes of the *Act* concerning the *Habits*, with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repealed next *Session of Parliament*, if the *Popish Party* did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in doubt, whether he should conform himself to it or not; upon which he desires *Bullingers* Advice. And in many *Letters* writ on that subject, it is asserted, that both *Cränmer* and *Ridley* intended to procure an *Act* for abolishing the *Habits*, and that they only defended their *Lawfulness*, but not their *Fitness*; and therefore they blamed private Persons that refused to obey the Laws. *Grindal* in a *Letter* dated the 27th of *August*, 1566. writes, That all the *Bishops*, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the *Queen* to let the matter of the *Habits* fall: but she was

so prepossessed, that tho they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the *Laws*, and to wait for a fit opportunity to *reverse them*. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreemly irritated the *Queens* Spirit, so that *She* was now much more heated in those matters than formerly; he also thanks *Bullinger* for the *Letter* that he had writ, justifying the *Lawful use* of the *Habits*, which he says had done great service. *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*, in one of his *Letters*, laments the aversion that they found in the *Parliament* to all the *Propositions* that were made for the Reformation of Abuses. *Jewel*, in a *Letter* dated the 22th of *May* 1559. writes, That the *Queen* refused to be called *Head of the Church*, and adds, That that *Title* could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due only to *Christ*; and that such *Titles* had been so much abused by *Antichrist*, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these *Passages* I will make no reflections here: For I set them down only to shew what was the sense of our Chief *Church-men* at that time concerning those matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry Disputes; and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one, that intends to write the *History* of that time. The last particular, with which I intend to end this *Letter*, might seem a little too learned, if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

1. *John* 5. 7. I have taken some pains in my travels to examin all the Antient *Manuscripts* of the *New Testament*, concerning that doubted passage of *St. Johns* Epistle, *There are three that bear witness in Heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are one*. *Bullinger* doubted much of it, because he found it not in an antient *Latin* Manuscript at *Zurich*, which seems to be about 800. years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be used in *Charles the Great's* time. I turned the *Manuscript*, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainly

tainly the error or omission of the Copier: For before the *General Epistles* in that Manuscript, the *Preface* of *St. Jerome* is to be found, in which he says, that he was the more exact in that *Translation*, that so he might discover the fraud of the *Arrians*, who had struck out that passage concerning the *Trinity*. This *Preface* is printed in *Lira's Bible*: but how it came to be left out by *Erasmus* in his Edition of that Father's works, it that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand, *Erasmus's* sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured, so on the other hand, that *Preface* being in all the *Manuscripts* Antient or Modern of those *Bibles* that have the other *Prefaces* in them, that I ever yet saw, it is not easy to imagin what made *Erasmus* not to publish it; and it is in the Manuscript *Bibles* at *Basil*, where he printed his Edition of *S. Jeromes Works*. In the old Manuscript *Bible* of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700. years old, both the *Preface* and the *Passage* are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the Verse concerning the *Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of the *Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the Readings I found of this passage in my Travels, there is a Manuscript in *St. Mark's Library* in *Venice* in three Languages, *Greek, Latin, and Arabick*, that seems not above 400. years old, in which this passage is not in the *Greek*, but it is in the *Latin* set after the other three, with a *sicut* to joyn it to what goes before. And in a Manuscript *Latin Bible* in the Library of *St. Laurence* at *Florence*, both *St. Jeromes Preface* and this *Passage* are extant: but this *Passage* comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *sicut*, as is that of *Venice*: yet *sicut* is not in the *Geneva* Manuscript. There are, two *Greek Manuscripts* of the *Epistles* at *Basil*, that seem to be about 500. years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an Ancient *Latin Bible*, which is about 800. years old, in which tho *St. Jerom's Prologue*

is inserted, yet this *Passage* is wanting. At *Strasbourg* I saw four very Ancient Manuscripts of the *New Testament* in Latin: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth seemed to be much antienter, and may belong to the seventh *Century*: in it neither the *Prologue* nor the *Place* is extant: but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other, the *Prologue* is extant, but the *Place* is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margin. In the fourth, as the *Prologue* is extant so is the *Place* likewise, but it comes after the verse of the other three, and is joyned to it thus, *Sicut tres sunt in caelo*.

It seem'd strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the *Vatican Library* there are no Antient *Latin Bibles*, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for: but I saw none above 400. years old. There is indeed the famous *Greek Manuscript* of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelfrat*, that was Library keeper, asserted to be 1400. years old, and proved it by the great similitude of the *Characters* with those that are upon *S. Hippolites Statue*, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time, the antiquity of this *Manuscript* is not to be disputed. If the *Characters* are not so fair, and have not all the marks of *Antiquity* that appears in the *Kings Manuscript* at *S. James's*, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The *Passage* that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the *Vatican Manuscript*, no more than it is in the *Kings Manuscript*. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The *publick Library* is very noble: The Hall in which it is placed, is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome *Cabinet of Medals*, and so I will break off; but when I have gone so much farther that I have gathered *Materials* for another *Letter* of this *Volum*, you may look for a second entertainment, such as it is from.

Your, &c.

POST.

POSTSCRIPT.

I told you, that in *Bern* the *Balliages* are given by a sort *Bern* of a *Ballot*, which is so managed, that no mans *Vote* is known: but I must now add, that since I was first there, they have made a considerable regulation in the way of *Voting*, when Offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the *Venetian* method, and which exposes the competitors more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the *Intrigues*, that are so much in use for obtaining those *Employments*. There is a number of *Balls* put into a *Box*, equal to the number of those that have right to *vote*, and that are present; of these the third part is *guilt*, and two parts are only *silvered*, so every one takes out a *ball*; but none can *vote* except those who have the *guilt balls*; so that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a competition.

There is one thing for which the *Switzers*, in particular those of *Bern*, cannot be enough commended, they have ever since the *Persecution* began first in *France*, opened a *Sanctuary* to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so *Christian* a manner, that it deserves all the honourable *Remembrances* that can be made of it: such *Ministers* and others, that were at first condemned in *France*, for the affair of the *Cevennes*, have not only found a kind *Reception* here, but all the *Support* that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the *French Ministers* a pension of *five Crowns* a month, if they were unmarried, and have increased it to such as had *Wife* and *Children*, so that some had above *ten Crowns* a month pension. They dispersed them over all the *Pais de Vaud*: but the greatest number staid at *Lausanne* and *Vevey*. In order to the supporting of this charge, the *Charities* of *Zurich*, and the other neighbouring *Protestant States*, were brought hither. Not only the *Protestant Cantons*, but the *Grisons*, and some small *States*, that are under the protection of the *Canton*;

tons, such as *Neufchâtel*, *S. Gall*, and some others, have sent in their Charities to *Bern*, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this Relief brings upon them; and in this last total and deplorable dispersion of those *Churches*, the whole *Country* has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and Compassion, that every Mans house and purse has been opened to the *Refugies*, that have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above 2000. in *Lausanne* alone, and of these there were at one time near 200. *Ministers*, and they all met with a Kindness and Free-heartedness, that lookt more like some what of the *primitive Age* revived, than the Degeneracy of the *Age* in which we live.

I shall Conclude this *Postscript*, which is already swelled to the bigness of a *Letter*, with a sad Instance of the Anger and heat that rises among *Divines* concerning Matters of very small consequence.

The middle way that *Amirald*, *Daille*, and some others in *France* took in the matters that were disputed in *Holland*, concerning the Divine Decrees, and the extent of the Death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in *France*, so it had some Assertors both in *Geneva* and *Switzerland*, who denied the *Imputation of Adams sin*, and asserted the *Universality of Christ's death*, together with a *sufficient Grace given to all men*, asserting with this a particular and free Decree of Election, with an efficacious Grace for those included in it: these came to be called Universalists, and began to grow very considerable in *Geneva*: two of the *Professors of Divinity* there being known to favour those *Opinions*, Upon this, those who adhered strictly to the opposit *Doctrine*, were inflamed, and the Contention grew to that height, that almost the whole *Town* came to be concerned, and all were divided into parties. If upon this, the *Magistrates* had enjoyned silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wisely: for these are *speculations* so little certain, and so little essential to *Religion*, that a Diversity of *Opinions*

nions ought not to be made the occasion of Heat or Faction. But tho the party of the *Universalists* was considerable in *Geneva*, it was very small in *Switzerland*, therefore some *Divines* there, that adhered to the old received Doctrine, drew up some *Articles*, in which all these Doctrines were not only condemned, together with some Speculations, that were asserted concerning *Adams Immortality*, and other qualities belonging to the state of Innocency; but because *Capel* and some other *Criticks* had not only asserted the novelty of the points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading of the *Hebrew*, supposing that some errors had been committed by the *Copiers* of the *Bible*, both in the *Vowels* and *Consonants*, in opposition to this, they condemned all corrections of the *Hebrew Bible*, and asserted the Antiquity of the *Points*, or at least of the power and reading according to them; by which, tho they did not engage all to be of *Buxtorf's* opinion, as to the Antiquity of the points, yet they shut the door against all Corrections of the present *Punctuation*: If this consent of *Doctrine* (for so they termed it) had been made only the Standard, against which no man might have taught, without incurring censures, the severity had been more tolerable: but they obliged all such as should be admitted either to the *Ministry*. or to a *Professors* Chair, to sign *se sentio*, so i think; and this being so settled at *Bern* and *Zurich*, it was also carried by their authority at *Geneva*: but for those in office, the *Moderator* and *Clerk* signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contended to make only a Regulation in those Matters, but they would needs, according to a maxim that hath been so often fatal to the *Church*, enter into peoples Consciences, and either shut out Young Men from Employments, or impose a *Test* upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without Struglings in their Conscience. Yet some that set on this *Test* or Consent, are men of such extraordinary Worth, that I am confident

dent they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal for that which they believe to be the Truth: only I wish they had larger and freer Souls.

The only considerable *Tax* under which the *Switzerland*, is, that when *Estates* are sold, the *fifth* part of the price belongs to the Publick, and all the Abatement that the *Bailif* can make, is to bring it to a *sixth* part; this they call the *Lod*, which is derived from *Alodium*: only there are some Lands that are *Frankalod*, which lie not under this *Tax*: but this falling only on the *Sellers* of *Estates*, it was thought a just Punishment, and a wise Restraint on ill Husbands of their *Estates*.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the derivation of *Advoyer*, when I found that in some small *Towns* in the *Canton* of *Bern*, the chief *Magistrate* is still so called: as in *Payerne*, so that I make no doubt, but as the Ancient Magistrates in the time of the *Romans*, that were to give an account of the *Town*, were called *Advocates*, and afterwards the *Judge* in Civil Matters, that was named by the *Bishops*, was called at first *Advocat*, and afterwards *Vidam* or *Vicedominus*; so this was the *Title* that was still continued in *Bern*, while they were under the *Austrian* and *German* yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have perhaps toucht too slightly the last Difference that was in *Switzerland*, which related to the *Canton* of *Glaris*. In the *Canton* of *Apenzell*, as the two *Religions* are tolerated, so they are separated in different quarters; those of one *Religion* have the one half of the *Canton*, and those of the other *Religion* have the other half, so they live apart: but in *Glaris* they are mixt: and now the number of the *Papists* is become very low; one assured me, there were not above 200. *Families* of that *Religion*, and those are also so poor, that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their *Religion*. The other *Papish Cantons*, seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that *Canton*, and being set on by the intrigues of a *Court*, that has understood well the policy of imbroiling

all other *States*, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the *Papists* of *Glaris*, as if the prevailing of the other *Religion* exposed them to much injustice and oppression; and upon that they proposed, that the *Canton* should be equally divided into two halves, as *Appenzel* was: this was extremely unjust, since the *Papists* were not the tenth, or perhaps the twentieth part of the *Canton*. It is true, it was so situated in the midst of the *Popish Cantons*, that the *Protestant Cantons* could not easily come to their assistance: but those of *Glaris* resolved to dye rather than suffer this injustice, and the *Protestant Cantons* resolved to engage in a war with the *Popish Cantons*, if they imposed this matter on their Brethren of *Glaris*: at last this temper was found, that in all suits of law between those of different *Religions*, two thirds of the *Judges* should be alwayes of the *Religion* of the defendant; but while this Contest was on foot, those, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their Advantage of the Conjunction; for then was the *Fortification* of *Hummingen* at the Ports of *Basil* much advanced, of the importance of which, they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six *Noble Families* in *Bern*, that have still this priviledge, that when any of them is chosen to be of the *Council*, they take place before all the Ancient Councillors, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the *Council*.

THE SECOND LETTER.

Millan, the first of October, 1685.

Ripperf-wood **A**FTER a short stay at *Zurich*, we went down the *Lake*, where we past under the *Bridge* in *Ripperfwood*, which is a very noble Work for such a Countrey; the *Lake* is there about half a mile broad, the *Bridge* is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the *Lakes*: and this same defect I found in almost all the *Bridges* of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that Defence is made upon so small an Expence, it was amazing to see *Bridges* so naked: and that was more surprizing in some places, where the *Bridges* are both high and long: yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this; but those are sober Countreys, where drinking is not much in use. After two dayes journey, we came to *Coire*, *Bine* which is the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we *Grisons* found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten dayes there, I came to be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known: The Town is but little, and may contain between four and five thousand Souls; it lies in a bottom, upon a small brook, that a little below the Town falls into the *Rhine*. It is environed with Mountains of all hands, so that they have a very short Summer; for the Snow is not melted till May or June; and it began to Snow in September.

er when I was there. On a rising ground at the East
 end of the *Town* is the *Cathedral*, the *Bishops Palace*,
 and the *Clofe*, where the *Dean* and six *Prebendaries*
 live; all within the *Clofe* are *Papists*, but all the *Town*
 are *Protestants*, and they live pretty neighbourly toge-
 ther. Above a quarter of a mile high in the *Hill*, one
 goes up by a steep ascent to *Saint Lucius Chappel*; My
 curiosity carried me thither: Tho I gave no faith to the le-
 gend of *King Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home
 to be the *Apostle* of the *Grisons*. His *Chappel* is a little
 Vault about ten foot square, where there is an *Altar*, and
 where *Mass* is said upon some great *Festivals*; it is si-
 tuated under a natural *Arch* that is in the *Rock*, which
 was thought proper to be given out to have been the
 Cell of a *Hermit*: from it some drops of a small *Foun-
 tain* fall down near the *Chappel*; the *Bishop* assured me
 it had a miraculous vertue for weak-eyes, and that it
 was Oily; but neither taste nor feeling could discover to
 me any Oilyness: I believe it may be very good for the
 Eyes, as all *Rock-Water* is; but when I offered to shew
 the good old *Bishop*, that the legend of *Lucius* was a
Fable in all the parts of it, but most remarkably in
 that which related to the *Grisons*, and that we had no
Kings in *Britain* at that time, but were a *Province*
 to the *Romans*, that no ancient *Authors* speak of it,
Bede being the first that mentions it; and that the
 pretended *Letter* to *Pope Eleutherius*, together with
 his answer, has evident characters of *Forgery* in it,
 all this signified nothing to the *Bishop*, who assured me,
 that they had a *Tradition* of that in their *Church*; and
 it was inserted in their *Breviary*, which he firmly
 believed: he also told me the other legend of *King*
Lucius's sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and
 of whose *Veil* there was yet a considerable remnant
 reserved among their *Reliques*: I confess, I never saw
 a *Relique* so ill disguised; for it is a piece of worn
 Linnen Cloath lately washt, and the burning did
 not seem to be a month old; and yet when they
 took

took it out of the Case, to shew it me, there were some there that with great devotion rub'd their beads upon it. The *Bishop* had some contests with his *Dean*, and being a *Prince of the Empire*, he had proscribed him: the *Dean* had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the *Diet*, to which even the *Bishop*, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the *Papal* and *Protestant Communities*, a *Law* was long ago made against *Ecclesiastical Immunities*: this attempt on the *Dean* was made four years ago; as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the *Bishop*, and it was thought the *Popish party* intended to move in the *Diet* while we were there for the repealing of the *Law*, but they did it not. The foundation of the Quarrel between the *Bishop* and *Dean* was the *Exemptions* to which the *Dean* and *Chapter* pretended, and upon which the *Bishop* made some Inyasion: Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those *Exemptions*, and that in the primitive *Church* it was believed, that the *Bishop* had the Authority over his *Presbyters* by a divine right; and if it was by a Divine Right, then the *Pope* could not exempt them from his obedience: but the *Bishop* would not carry the matter so high, and contented himself with two maxims; the one was, That the *Bishop* was Christ's *Vicar* in his *Diocess*; and the other was, That what the *Pope* was in the *Catholick Church*, the *Bishop* was the same in his *Diocess*.

He was a good-natured Man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has over the *Papists* there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbours of another *Religion*. That *Bishop* was antiently a great Prince; and the greatest part of the *League*, that carries still the name of the *House of God*, belonged to him; tho I was assured that *Pregallia*, one of those *Communities*, was a *free State* above six hundred years ago, and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other *Communities* of this *League* bought their liberties from several *Bishops*.

haps some considerable time before the *Reformation*, of which the *Deeds* are yet extant; so that it is an impudent thing to say, as some have done, that they shook off his Yoke at that time.

The *Bishop* hath yet reserved a *Revenue* of about one thousand pound *Sterling* a Year, and every one of the *Prebendaries* hath near two hundred pound a Year. It is not easie to imagin out of what the Riches of this *Country* is raised; for one sees nothing but a tract of vast *Mountains*, that seem barren *Rocks*, and some little *Vallies* among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: but their wealth consists chiefly in their *Hills*, which afford much pasture; and in the hot months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these *Hills*, which brings them in a *Revenue* of above two hundred thousand *Crowns* a Year. The *Publick* is indeed very poor, but particular persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have *Estates* to the value of one hundred thousand *Crowns*. Mr. *Schovestein*, that is accounted the richest man in the *Country*, is believed to be worth a *Million*, I mean of *Livres*. The *Government* here is purely a *Commonwealth*; for in the choice of their *Magistrates*, every man that is above sixteen *Years* old hath his *Voice*, which is also the constitution of some of the small *Cantons*. The *Three Leagues* are, the *League of the Grisons*, that of the *House of God*, and that of the ten *Jurisdictions*.

They believe, that upon the incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian Islands*, out of which arose that famous *Common-wealth*; so others came and sheltered themselves in those *Valleys*. They told me of an ancient inscription lately found, of a *Stone* where on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*: the *Stone* on which this inscription is, is upon one of their *Mountains*; but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first

forming of this people, they were cast into little *States*, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the power of some little *Princes*, that became severe Masters; but when they saw the Example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian Yoke*, above two hundred years ago, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; only some few of those small *Princes* used their authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the Yoke, and so they are still parts of the Body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty; it is about two miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*; the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot of the *Alps*, where there is scarce any breadth. The authority of these *Barons* was formerly more absolute than it is now; for the Subjects were their Slaves: but to keep together the little *Village*, they have granted them a power of naming a list for their *Magistrates*, the person being to be named by the *Baron*; who hath also the Right of Pardoning, a Right of Coyning, and every thing also that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little *Prince* in *Coire*, in an Equipage not suitable to his Quality; for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other *Baronies* that are Members of the *Diet*, and subject to it; the chief belonged to the *Arch-Duke of Inghraugh*; the other two belong to *Mr. Schovenstein* and *Mr. de Mont*, they are the Heads of those *Communities* of which their *Baronies* are composed; they name the *Magistrates* out of the lists that are presented to them by their Subjects; & they have the right of pardoning & of confiscations: That belonging to the House of *Austria* is the biggest, it hath five voices in the *Diet*, and it can raise twelve hundred Men. One *Travers* bought it of the *Emperor* in the year 1679. he entred upon the Right of the ancient *Barons*, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his *Peasants*, and was confirmed by the *Emperour*. *Travers* made many in-

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encroachments upon the Priviledges of his *Subjects*, who upon that made their Complaints to the *League*; but *Travers* would have the Matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the *Emperor* supported him in this Pretension, and sent an *Agent* to the *Diet*: I was present, when he had his *Audience*, in which there was nothing but *General Complements*: But the *Diet* stood firm to their Constitution, and asserted, that the *Emperour* had no Authority to judge in that Matter, which belonged only to them; so *Travers* was forced to let his Pretentions fall.

All the other Parts of this *State* are purely *Democrati- cal*; there are three different *Bodies* or *Leagues*, and every one of these are an intire *Government*; and the Assembly or *Diet* of the *Three Leagues*, in only a Confederacy, likethe *United Provinces*, or the *Cantons*: There are sixty-seven *Voices* in the *General Diet*, which are thus divided: The *League* of the *Grisons* hath twenty-eight *Voices*, that of the *House of God* hath twenty-four, and that of the *Jurisdicktions* hath fifteen. The *Jurisdicktions* belonged anciently to the *House of Austria*: but they having shaken off that Authority, were incorporated into the *Diet*; but in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their Yoke; yet they defended their Liberty with so much Vigour, that the *Austrians* it seems thought the conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quit the cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary Actions; in one *Village*, which was quite abandoned by all the *Men* belonging to it, who left the *Women* in it, some hundreds, as I was told, there quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their *Hofteffes*; but the *Women* intended to let their *Husbands* see, that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold Action; tho it must be confest, it was a little too rough and Barbarous for the *Sex*: They entred into a Combination to cut the Throats of all the *Souldiers* at one time; the *Woman* that proposed this, had four lodged with her, and she with her own Hands dispatcht them all, and so did all the rest, not one *Soul-*

Souldier escaping to carry away the News of so unheard of a Rage. In another Place, a Body of the *Austrians* came into a *Valley*, that was quite abandoned; for the *Men* that had no *Arms* but their *Clubs* and *Staves*, had got up to the *Mountains*; but they took their Measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the *Passes*, that they came down upon the *Souldiers* with so much Fury, that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped; and it is certain, that the Subduing them would have proved a very hard Work. It is true, they are not in a Condition to hold out long; the publick is too poor; so that tho particular Persons are extream rich; yet they have no publick Revenue, but every Man is concerned to preserve his Liberty, which is more intire here, than it is even in *Switzerland*: but this swells often so much, and throws them into great Convulsions. The *League* of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty *Communities*, of which there are eighteen *Papists*, and the rest are *Protestants*; the *Communities* of the two *Religions* live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another *Religion* to live among them, so that every *Community* is entirely of the same *Religion*; and if any one changes, he must go into another *Community*. Each *Community* is an intire *State* within it self, and all Persons must meet once a year to chuse the *Judge* and his *Assistants*, whom they change, or continue from year to year, as they see cause: There is no difference made between *Gentleman* and *Peasant*, and the *Tenant* hath a *Vote* as well as his *Landlord*, nor dare his *Landlord* use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions; for the *Peasants* would look upon that as a common Quarrel. An appeal lies from the *Judge* of the *Community*, to the *Assembly* of the *League*, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general *Diet* of the three *Leagues*, except in matters that concern the conquered *Countries*, which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the *Deputies* for the *Assembly* of the *League*, who is called the *Head* of the *League*, that can call them together as he sees cause, and

can likewise bring a cause that hath been once judged to a second hearing. *Ilants* is the *Chief Town* of this *League*, where their *Diet* meets. The second *League* is that of the *House of God*, in which there are 24 *Communities*; the *Burgomaster* of *Coire* is always the *Head* of this *League*: This *League* is almost wholly *Protestant*, and the two *Valleys* of the *Upper* and *Lower Engadin* are pointed out by the *Papists*, as little less than *Cannibals* towards such *Catholicks* as come among them; but *Frier Sfondrato*, Nephew to *Pope Gregory* the fourteenth, whose Mother the *Marchess of Bergominiero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen years ago he was believed to have wrought *Miracles*, and he became so much in love with the *Crown of Martyrdom*, that he went through the *Engadin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His Brother had come some time before into the *Country* to drink *Mineral Waters*, and was well known to the *Gentry*, so some of these hearing of the *Frier's* coming, went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their Houses, and conveyed through the *Countrey*, tho he took all possible wayes to provokethem; for he was often railing at their *Religion*, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their *Civilities* still, which did so irage the warm *Fryer*, that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he Dyed of Grief. An Accident fell out five years ago, that the People of the *Country* esteemed a sort of a *Miracle*. The *Papists* in their *Processions* go sometimes out of one *Community* into another, and when they pass through *Protestant Communities*, they lower the *Cross*, and give over singing till they are again upon *Papish* ground: but then they went on bearing up the *Cross*, and singing as they went; upon which the *Protestants* stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the *Protestants*, sent to a *Catholick Community*, and desired them to come to their Assistance: Two thousand came, and by all appearance

rance the Dispute would have had a bloody Issue: for the *Protestants* were resolved to maintain the Rights of their *Community*, and the others were no less resolved to force their Way: but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it, the *Papists* fancied they saw a vast Body of Men, which was no other than a Wood: but terrified with the Appearance of such a number, they retired, and this saved a little battel, that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole Constitution and Union of their Leagues. The *Papists* of quality endeavour much to keep their People in order: but they acknowledged to my self, that the *Protestants* were much peaceabler than the *Catholicks*. The *Jurisdictions* have fifteen Votes in the General Diet, yet they are generally called the *ten Jurisdictions*, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion; for upon the general Computation of the *three Leagues*, the *Protestants* are about two thirds. In their Diets there are *three Tables*, one in the middle, and two on either side; at every Table sits the Head of the League, and a Secretary near him; and from the Table there goes down Benches on both Hands for the Deputies from the *Communities* of that League: They hold their Diets by turns in the Chief Towns of the several Leagues, and it hapned to be the turn of the *House of God*, when I was there; so they met at Coire.

The *three Leagues* have a conquered Country in Italy, divided into three Districts, the *Valtelline*, *Gharvennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the *Dutchy of Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three Branches of the *Dutchy of Milan*, retired to Coire, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died, he gave his Right to those Territories to the Cathedral of Coire: but here was a Title without a force able to make it good. But when the Wars of Italy were on Foot, the *three Leagues* be-

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ing much courted by both the *Crowns*, since they were Masters of the *Passes*, by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that Opportunity: yet they had not Zeal enough for their *Bishop*, to ingage deep upon his Account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a Revenue, and he transferred his Title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much ado, they yielded those Parcels of the *Duchy of Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those Accessions to this *State* are much better than the principal; for as *Valtellina* certainly the *Valtelline*, which is above forty Miles long, and two broad, is one of the richest *Valleys* in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years; so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best *Valleys* of the *Grisons*; yet the ingagement that people have to their native Homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Countrey, that they might situate themselves so advantagiously; but they love their rugged *Valleys*, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions; so they govern them by *Bailifs* and *Podestas*, and other Officers whom they send among them; and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the *Magistrates* whom they send to govern them, do enrich themselves, as the *Bailifs* in *Switzerland* do. All those Offices go round the several *Communities*, who have the right of nomination in their turn: But if there is none of the *Community* proper for the Employment, any one of another *Community* may buy of them the Nomination for that turn, and the *Community* distribute among them the Money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the Fines, which in some years amounts to no considerable sum; and ten or twelve thousand *Crowns* is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year; so that their *Subjects* live happy, and free

of all *Taxes*, which made their last Revolt appear the more extraordinary; and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a people under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other Grievance, but that now and then their *Magistrates* were of another Religion, and that the *Protestant Religion* was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their *Masters*, cut the Throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular Relation of that matter, and to tell the Circumstances which seem a little to lessen that *Rebellion* and *Massacre*, I must give an Account of a part of this Constitution that is very Terrible, and which makes the greatest Men in it to tremble: The *Peasants* come sometimes in great Bodies, and demand a *Chamber of Justice* from the general *Diet*, and they are bound to grant it alwayes when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this tumult of the *Peasants* is set on by some of the Male-contented *Gentry*, and generally there are a great many Sacrifices made. This *Court* is composed of ten *Judges* out of every *League*, and twenty *Advocates*, who manage such Accusations as are presented to them; this *Court* is paramount to *Law*, and Acts like a *Court of Inquisition*; they give the *Question*, and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the Truth of such Accusations as are presented to them; and the Decisions of this *Court* can never be brought under a second Review, tho there is an exception to this; for about a hundred years ago, one *Court of Justice* reversed all that another had done; but that is a single instance. The *Peasants* are in as great a jealousy of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers* are of the *French*, and the good Men among them are extream sensible of a great Dissolution of Morals that the *Spanish* service brings among them: For there is a *Grison Regiment* kept still in pay by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve *Companies* of fifty apiece, and the *Captains* have a thousand

sand *Crowns* pay, tho they are not obliged to attend upon
 the service: This is upon the matter a Pension paid under
 a more decent name to the most considerable Men of the
 Countrey; and this is shared among them without any
 distinction of *Protestant* and *Papist*, and is believed to
 sway their *Councils* much. The *Peasants* are apt to take
 fire, and to believe they are betrayed by those *Pensioners*
 of *Spain*; and when Rumors are blown about among
 them, they come in great numbers to demand a *Chamber*
 of *Justice*; the common *Question* that they give, which
 is also used all *Switzerland* over, and in *Geneva*, is, that
 they tye the *Hands* of the suspected person behind his back,
 and pull them up to his *Head*, and so draw them about,
 by which the arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are dis-
 joyned; and when a person put to the *Question* confesses
 his Crime, and is upon that condemned to dye, he is
 obliged to renew his Confession upon *Oath* at the Place of
 Execution: and if he goes off from it then, and saith, *That*
his Confession was extorted by the Violence of the Torture,
 he is put again to the *Question*: for this passes for a Maxim,
That no man must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty:
 Generally when the fury of demanding this *Chamber* is
 spread among the people, the *Gentry* run away, and
 leave the whole matter in the power of the *Peasants*; for
 they know not where it will end; and so the *Peasants*
 being named to be *Judges*, the Justice goes quick, till
 some Sacrifices appease the Rage. Two Year ago, upon
 the sale of a *Common* to the *Bishop* of *Como*, to which he
 had an ancient pretension, the *Peasants* having no more
 the liberty of the *Common*, were enraged at their *Magi-*
strates, and a Report was spread abroad, of which the
 first Author could never be discovered, *that the Spaniards*
had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt
all their Magistrates; upon this they were so set on fire,
 that it was generally thought there would have been
 many Sacrifices made to this fury: but the *Gentry* hapned
 to be then so much united, that there was none of them
 ingaged among the *Peasants*, or that managed their *Rage*:

a *Chamber of Justice* was granted, but the matter was so ordered, that it did not appear that any one was guilty; yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fund to pay the Expences of the Chamber; and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the Fines, there was a fine of five hundred *Livres* laid on every one of the *Spanish Companies*. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the *Rebellion* and *Massacre* in the *Valtelline*.

In the Year 1618. there was a Report set about, That the Spaniards had a Treaty on foot to tear away the *Valtelline* from the Leagues: this was supported by the *Fort Fuentes*, that the Governor of Milan was building upon the *Lake of Como*, near the *Valtelline*. There was one *Ganatz*, a Minister, but a bloody and Perfidious Man, that set on and managed the rage of the *Peasants*, and there was great reason to suspect some underhand dealing, tho he threw it which way he pleased. A *Chamber of Justice* was appointed to sit at *Tossane*, which is a considerable Town twelve miles from *Coire*, on the way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high and small Hill, to which there is no access but on one side, where there are yet the Ruins of a *Castle* and a *Church*, and which they believe was the Pallace of *Rhetus*, the first Prince of the Countrey: There was severe Justice done in this Chamber, a Priest was put to the *Question*, and so ill used that he dyed in it, which is a crying thing among them. The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who being of one of the best Families of the *Grisons*, was then one of the *Captains* in the *Spanish* Regiments; he withdrew himself from the Storm, but the *Peasants* led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last they found him, and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz* himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which was taken up and preserved by his Friends; and four and twenty years after fifty or sixty of his Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Coire*, and

and killed him with the same Ax, which they brought along with them, that they might execute their design by the same Tool with which their Friend was murdered. *Ganatz* had during the *Wars* abandoned both his Religion and Profession, being indeed a disgrace to both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then in the *Spanish* Troops: After the peace was made, he became so considerable, being supported by the *Spanish* Faction, that he was chosen *Governour* of *Chavennes*, and was come over to *Coire* to a *Diet*, he being then in so important a charge: but he was so much hated, that tho the murthering of a *Magistrate* in Office, and at a publick *Assembly* in so terrible a manner, ought to have been severely punished, yet no inquiry was made into the Crime, nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In that *Chamber* many that were put to the *Question*, confessed enough to hang them; some endured the *Question*, and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valtelline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the *Massacre*; and it is very probable, this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that Barbarous Action: yet it was afterwards found out, that the *Plot* had been formed long before, so that the Industry and Rage of the *Priests*, managed by *Spanish* Emissaries, working upon the bigotry of the *People*, was the Real Cause, and this was only made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the *Massacre*, which was executed some Months after this *Chamber* was dissolved. It began while the *Protestants* were at *Church*; there were some *hundreds* destroyed, the rest got all up to the *Mountains*, and so escaped into the Countrey of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the *Hills*; for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that *War*; the *French* saw of what Advantage it was to them, not to let this *Pass* from *Italy* into *Germany* fall into the Hands of the

Spaniards ; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618. but when that order was sent to the *Governour of Milan*, it was plain he had secret Orders to the contrary ; for he refused to execute it: so a *War* followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easy for them to support the charge of it, without imploying the Assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other Interest in the affairs of the *Valteline*, than the preservation of the *Catholick Religion* ; and to shew their sincerity, they put the *Countrey* into the *Popes* Hands, knowing that he could not preserve it but by their Assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of *Religion*. The *French* willingly undertook the cause of the *Grisons*, and because the *Duke of Rohan* was like to be the most favourable *General*, as being of the *Religion*, he was sent to command some forces that marched thither: But he saw, that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the *Passes* of the *Countrey*, it would turn to their Ruin ; and finding the *Grisons* reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an Instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* ingage in the Quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the *Passes*, offered to restore all the *Territory* in *Italy* ; for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the *Protestants* got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Valteline*, that they prevented the Rage of the *Priests*. The *Spaniards* ask'd these conditions, that an *Amnesty* should be granted for what was past ; that there should be no Exercise of the *Protestant Religion* tolerated in the *Countrey*, and that even the *Bailifs* and other *Magistrates* of the *Religion*, that came to be sent into the *Valteline*, should have no Exercise of their *Religion*; and as for other persons, that none of the *Religiose* might stay above six *Weeks* at a time in the *Countrey*. The *Duke of Rohan* seeing

seeing that Conditions of so much Advantage to the *Laques* were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the Treaty set on foot on those Terms; and that he might get out of this Imployment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in Prison till they had finished their Treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own, that they owe the Preservation of their *Countrey* to the wise Advices of that great *Man*. Many that were of the Religion returned to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest part fearing such another *Massacree*, have since changed their Religion, others have sold their Estates, and left the *Country*; some stay still, and go two or three hours journey to some of the *Protestant Communities*, where they have the Exercise of the Religion: And tho they may not stay in the *Valtelline* above six weeks at a time; yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the *Countrey* once within that time; nor is that matter at present so severely examined: so that there is a calm among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the *Protestant Communities* to send one of the Religion to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the *Bishop of Como*, to whose *Diocefs* those Territories belong; for if the *Bishop* fancies, that they do any thing contrary to the *Ecclesiastical immunities*, he *excommunicates* them; and tho this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being *Hereticks*, yet it produces a very sensible effect; for the people that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such *Magistrates*; so that about three year ago a *Bailif* found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, tho his time was not out, since being *excommunicated*; he could no longer maintain the Government in his own person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman Law* prevails, modified a little by their Customs: one that was a little

little particular, was executed when I was there. A *Man* that hath an *Estate* by his *Wife*, enjoys it after her death, as long as he continues a *Widower*; but when he *marries* again, he is bound to divide it among the *Children* that he had by her. The *Justice* is short, and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes go here, tho but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The *married Women* here do scarce appear abroad, except at *Church*; but the *young Women* have more Liberty before they are *married*. There is such a plenty of all things, by reason of the *Gentlene's* of the *Government*, and the *Industry* of the *People*, that in all the *ten days*, in which I stayed at *Coire*, I was but once ask an Alms in the *Streets*. There are *two Churches* in *Coire*; in the one there is an *Organ*, that joyns with their *Voices* in the singing of the *Psalms*; and there was for the Honour of the *Diet*, while we were there, an *Anthem* sung by a set of *Musicians* very regularly. In all the *Churches* both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only, the *Minister* preachese covered; but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the *Lords Prayer*, that the *Ministers* who wear *Caps*, put them off when this was said. The *Women* here as in *Bern*, turn all to the *East* in time of *prayer*, and also in their private Devotions, before and after the *publick Prayers*; many also bow at the Name of *Jesus*: They *Christen* discovering the whole Head, and pouring the *Water* on the Hind-head, using a trine aspersion, which is also the practice of the *Swizzers*. It was matter of much edification, to see the great numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over, that come every day to prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the prayer a good interval of Silence for the private Devotions of the Assembly. The *Schools* here go not above *Latin*, *Greek* and *Logick*; and for the rest, they send their Children to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The *Clergy* here are very meanly provided; for most part they have nothing but the Benevolence of their people: they complained much

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to me of a great Coldness in their people in the matters of Religion, and of a great Corruption in their Morals: The *Commons* are extream insolent, and many Crimes go unpunished, if the persons that commit them have either great credit, or much money. The poor *Ministers* here are under a terrible slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend, that in all times they had not only the *Patronage* of their Churches, but a power to dismiss their *Church-men* as they saw cause. How it is among the *Papists*, I cannot tell; but the *Dean* of the *Synod* of the *House of God* told me, they had an ill custom of *Ordaining* their *Ministers* without a Title, upon an examination of their Qualifications and Abilities, which took them up generally six or seven hours, and when this tryal was thus dispatched, if the person was found qualified, they *ordained* him; and it was too ordinary for those that were thus *Ordained*, to endeavour to undermine the *Ministers* already in employment, if their people grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by Age; and often the Interest and Kindred of the Intruder carried the matter against the incumbent, without any colour or pretence; and in that case the *Synod* was bound to receive the Intruder. In one half of the Country they preach in *high Dutch*, and in the other half in a corrupt *Italian*, which they call *Romanish*, that is, a mixture of *French* and *Italian*. In every *League* they have a *Synod*; and as the people chuse their *Ministers*, so in imitation of the *Switzers*, every *Synod* chuses their *Antistes* or Superintendant; he is called the *Dean* among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal Power; but he is accountable to the *Synod*: The Office is for life; but the *Synod* upon great cause given, may make a change. The people of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the *Italian* temper. They are extream civil to *Strangers*; but it seems in all *Commonwealths* *Inn-keepers* think they have a right to exact upon *Strangers*, which one finds here, as well as in *Holland*, or in *Switzerland*.

I shall

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary Story, which I had both from the *Ministers of Coire*, and several other *Gentlemen*, that saw in *April 1683*. about *five hundred* Persons of different Sexes and ages, that past through the *Town*, who gave this account of themselves. They were the *Inhabitants* of a *Valley* in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest part to the *Arch-Bishoprick* of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the *Diocesses* of *Trent* and *Bresse*; they seemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenses*; they worshipped neither *Images* nor *Saints*; and they believed the *Sacrament* was only a *Commemoration* of the *Death* of *Christ*: and in many other Points they had their peculiar opinions, different from those of the *Church of Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherans* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, tho their Neighbours, had never heard of this Nearness of theirs to the *Protestant Religion*. They had *Mass* said among them; but some years since some of the *Valley* going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their labour, hapned to go into the *Palatinate*, where they were better instructed in matters of *Religion*, and these brought back with them into the *Valley* the *Heidelberg Catechism*, together with some other *German Books*, which ran over the *Valley*, and they being before that in a good disposition, those *Books* had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Mass* any more, and began to worship *God* in a way more suitable to the *Rules* set down in *Scripture*: some of their *Priests* concurred with them in this happy Change; but others, that adhered still to the *Mass*, went and gave the *Arch-Bishop* of *Salzburg* an account of it; upon which he sent some into the *Countrey* to examin the *Truth* of the *Matter*, to exhort them to return to *Mass*; and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible *Storm* ready to break upon them, resolved to abandon their *Houses*, and all they had, rather than sin against their *Consciences*: And the whole *Inhabitants* of the *Valley*, old and young, *Men* and *Women*, to the number of

two thousand, divided themselves into several Bodies; some intended to go to *Brandenburg*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way of *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The *Ministers* told me, they were much edified with their Simplicity, and Modesty; for a Collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Tessane*, and from that, through the way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two *Rocke*, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way: The way is cut out in the middle of the *Rock* in some places, and in several places the steepness of the *Rock* being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are Beams driven into it, over which Boards and Earth are laid; this way holds an hour: After that, there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable *Villages*; there is good lodging in both: from thence there is, for two hours Journey, terrible Way, almost as bad as the *Via Mala*; then an hours Journey good way to *Splugen*, which is a large *Village* of above two hundred Houses, that are well built, and the *Inhabitants* seem all to live at their ease, tho they have no sort of soil but a little Meadow ground about them; This is the last *Protestant Church* that was in our way; it was well indowed; for the provision of the *Minister* was near two hundred *Crowns*: Those of this *Village* are the *Carriers* between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade; for there is here a perpetual *Carriage* going and coming; and we were told, that there pass generally a hundred *Horses* through this *Town*, one day with another; and there are above five hundred *Carriage Horses* that belong to this *Town*. From this place we went mounting for three hours, till we got to the top of the *Hills*, where there is only one great *Inn*. After that the way was tolerably good for two hours; and for two hours there is constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs: At the foot of this is a little

little Village, called *Campdolein*, and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast difference of the *Climates*; for whereas we were *freezing* on the other side, the heat of the *Sun* was uneasy here, and also by the number of the *Beggars*, tho it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect, since the *richest* Countrey of *Europe* is full of *Beggars*; and the *Grisons*, that are one of the *poorest* *States*, have no *Beggars* at all. One thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valtellina*, after it is carried three Days Journey, is sold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries, where it grows at the door: but there are no *Taxes* nor *Impositions* here. From

Chavennes there is three Hours Journey to *Chavennes*, all in a Slow descent; and in some Places the Way is extream rugged and stony. *Chavennes* is very pleasantly situated at the very Foot of the *Mountains*; there run through the *Town* a pleasant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich *Vineyards* about it: and the Rebound of the *Sun-Beams* from the *Mountains*, doth so increase the heats here, that the Soil is as rich here, as in any Place of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a Noble *Architecture* in a great many Houses; in short, all the Marks of a rich Soil, and a free Government appear here. The *Town* stood a little more to the North, about five hundred years ago, but a *Slice* of the *Alps* came down upon it, and buried it quite; and at the Upper-end of the *Town* there are some *Rocks* that look like *Ruins*, about which there hath been a very extraordinary Expence, to divide them one from another, and to make them fit Places for *Forts* and *Castles*: the Marks of the Tools appeared all over the *Rock* in one place. I measured the Breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty Foot, the length is four hundred and fifty Foot, and as we could guess, the *Rock* was two hundred Foot high, cut down on both sides in a Line as even as a Wall; towards the top of one, the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters, a little *Gothick*. On the Tops of these *Rocks*, which are inaccessible except on the one side,

and to that the Ascent is extream uneasy, they had *Garrisons* during the *Wars* of the *Valtelline*: there were fifteen hundred in *Garrison* in that which is in the middle: There falls down frequently *Slices* from the *Hills*, that do extreamly fatten the Ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruitful beyond exprellion: and I saw a *Lime Tree*, that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of Ground, which had been so covered, that was two Fathom and a half of Compass. On both sides of the *River*, the *Town*, and the *Gardens* belonging to it, cover the whole Bottom, that lies between the *Hills*, and at the Roots of the *Mountains* they dig great *Cellars*, and *Grottoes*, and strike a hole about a foot Square, ten or twelve foot into the *Hill*, which all the Summer long blows a fresh Air into the *Cellar*; so that the *Wine* of those *Cellars* drinks almost as cold as if it were in *Ice*; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September*: For the Sun opening the Pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed within the cavities that are in the *Mountains*, rushes out with a constant Wind; but when the operation of the Sun is weakned, this course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those *Vaults* they build little pleasant rooms like *Sommerhouses*, and in them they go to collation generally at night in *Summer*. I never saw bigger *Grapes* than grow there; there is one sort bigger than the biggest *Damascene Plums* that we have in *England*.

There is a sort of *Wine* here and in the *Valtelline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called *Aromatick-wine*; and as the taste makes one think it must be a composition (for it tastes like a *Strong-water* drawn of *Spices*) so its strength being equal to a weak *Brandy*, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural *Wine*, and yet it is the pure juice of the *Grape*, without any mixture. The *Liquor* being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the *Grapes* are red,
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tho it drinks white; they let the *Grapes* hang on the Vine till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their *Garrets*, and set them all upright on their ends by one another for two or three months, then they pick all the *Grapes*, and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound *Grapes*: after they are pressed, they put the *Liquor* in an open *Vessel*, in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the season is sooner or later (for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight dayes, and at other times it continues a fortnight) then they put it in a close *Vessel*, for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at the End of the year, they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the *Vessel*, almost two thirds from the Bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up anew: once a year in the Month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a Month, but their other *Wine* ferments not at that time. *Madam Salis*, a Lady of the *Country*, who entertained us three Dayes with a Magnificence equal to what can be done in *London* or *Paris*, had *Wine* of this Composition, that was forty years old, and was so very strong, that one could hardly drink above a spoonful, and it tasted high of Spicery, tho she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this *Wine*, becomes a fire, and distills it self, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hop-head.

Both here, and in the *Grifons*, the meat is very juicy, the *Fowl* is excellent, their *Roots* and *Herbs* very useful; but the *Fish* of their *Lakes* is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great Simplicity as to their Habit and Furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich; the *Family* where we were so nobly entertained, is believed to have about two hundred thousand

Crown

Crowns: here the *Italian* custom, of one only of a *Family* that marries, takes place generally. There is a sort of *Pots of Stone* that is used not only in all the *Kitchens* here, but almost all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavage*, the *Stone* feels oily and scaly, so that a *Scale* sticks to ones *Finger* that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a *Slate*; there are but three *Mines* of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*; but the first is much the best; they generally cut it in the *Mine* round, of about a *Foot* and a half *Diameter*, and about a *Foot* and a quarter thick, and they work it in a *Mill*, where the *Chizzels* that cut the *Stone* are driven about by a *Wheel* that is set a going by *Water*, and which is so ordered, that he who manages the *Chizzel*, very easily draws forward the *Wheel* out of the course of the *Water*; they turn off first the outward coat of this *Stone*, till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one *Pot* after another by those small and hooked *Chizzels*, by which they make a *Nest of Pots*, all one within another, the outward and biggest being as big as an *Ordinary Beef-pot*, and the inward *Pot* being no bigger than a small *Pipkin*; these they arm with *books* and *Circles* of *brass*, and so they are served by them in their *Kitchens*. One of these *Stone-pots* takes heat and boils sooner than any *Pot* of *Mettle*; and whereas the *Bottoms* of *Mettle-pots* transmit the heat so intirely to the *Liquor* within, that they are not insufferably hot; the bottom of this *Stone-pot*, which is about twice so thick as a *Pot* of *Mettle*, burns extreamly; it never cracks, neither gives it any sort of taste to the *Liquor* that is boiled in it: but if it falls to the *Ground*, it is very brittle; yet this is repaired by patching it up; for they piece their broken *Pots* so close, tho without any cement, by sowing with *Iron-wire* the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire; there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this *Mine* is very inconvenient; for they must creep into it for near half a
mile

mile through a *Rock*, that is so hard, that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the *Stones* creep all along upon their belly, having a *Candle* fastned in their forehead, and the *Stone* laid on a sort of *Cushion* made for it upon their hips: The *Stones* are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of *Mountains* in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fate of the *Town of Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North, in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The *Town* was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the *Inhabitants* was about two and twenty hundred persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the great *Palace* of the *Francken*, that cost some millions, there were many other *Palaces* that were built by several rich *Factors* both of *Milan*, and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the situation and air, as well as the freedom of the *Government* of this place, so they used to come hither during the Heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast *Wealth* could furnish. By one of the *Palaces*, that was a little distant from the *Town*, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an out-house of the *Family* of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many *Palaces* in *Italy*; and certainly, *House* and *Gardens* could not cost so little as one hundred thousand *Crowns*. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me, that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a *Protestant Ministers* Sermons, that preached in a little *Church*, which those of the *Religion* had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgements of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25th of *August* 1618. an *Inhabitant* came and told them to be gone; for he saw the *Mountains* cleaving; but he was laughed at for his pains. He had a *Daughter*, whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of *Town* with him,

him, she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of Value, and so she went back to do that, and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the *Hill* fell down, and buried the *Town* and all the *Inhabitants*, so that not one person escaped: The fall of the *Mountains* did so fill the *Channel* of the *River*, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it, was by the failing of their *River*; for three or four hours there came not a drop of *Water*; but the *River* wrought for it self a new course, and returned to them; I could hear no particular Character of the *Man* who escaped, so I must leave the secret Reason of so singular a Preservation to the great discovery at the last Day of those steps of Divine Providence, that are now so unaccountable. Some of the *Family* of the *Francken* got some *Miners* to work under ground, to find out the *Wealth* that was buried in their *Palace*; for besides their *Plate* and *Furniture*, there was a great *Cash* and many *Jewels* in the *House*: the *Miners* pretended they could find nothing; but they went to their Country of *Tirol*, and built fine *Houses*, and a great *Wealth* appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that *Treasure*. The Chief *Factors* of *Italy* have been *Grisons*; and they told me, that as the Trade of *Banking* began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over, a *Lombard* and a *Bank* signified the same thing; so the great *Bankers* of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*; and to this day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in *Money*; for a *Man* there of a hundred thousand *Crowns* Estate, hath not perhaps a third part of this within the *Countrey*, but puts it out in the neighbouring *States*, And the *Liberty* of the *Countrey* is such, that the *Natives* when they have made up *Estates* elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those *Mountains*, of which the very sight is enough to fill a *Man* with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a ^{Lake of} plain to the *Lake* of *Chavennes*, which is almost round, and

Lake of and is about two mile Diameter. This *Lake* falls into the *Como-Lake* of *Como*, over against the Fort *Fuentes*; when we passed there, the Water was so low, that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two *Lakes*. The *Lake* of *Como* is about eight and forty miles long, and four broad; it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough in *Como* to give any Description of it; for I thought to have returned that way from a little Tour that I made into the *Bailiages* that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugane*, *Locarno*, and *Bellinzona*: but I took another Course, so I saw nothing in *Como*; the best thing in it is a fine *Chappel*, which the present *Pope*, who is a Native of *Como*, is building. From *Como* we went eight miles to *Codelaggo*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugane* we had eight miles of *Lake*: This *Lake* doth not run in an even current, as the other *Lakes*, that rise under the *Alps*, but the situation of the Hills about it, throws it into several courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little *Provinces*, or *Bailiages*, of which during the *Wars* of *Italy*, between the *Dukes* of *Milan* and the two *Crowns*, in *Francis the First*, and *Charles the Fifth*'s time, they possessed themselves of as a Pledge for payment of their Arrears; and they were then such considerable *Allies*, that they made both the Competitors for the *Dutchy* of *Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable Professors of almost all that tract that lies between the *Lake* of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeffu*, or the *Valleys*. The *Inhabitants* here are so well used, they live so free of all Impositions, and the *Switzers* Government is so gentle, that here I may tell you another Paradox, this is the Worst Countrey, the least Productive, the most exposed to Cold, and the least Capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the best Peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belong to the *Bailiage* of *Lugane* alone, ninety-nine *Villages*, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of People. The twelve Ancient *Cantons* have their turns in all the *Bailiages* and other Offices here: but when it comes

to the turn of those of the *Religion*, their *Bailifs* must be contented with private Devotions in their own *House*, but can have no publick Exercises, nor so much as a *Minister* in their Houses. For here, as in the *Valseline*, when the *Spaniards* confirmed the Right of the *Cantons* to those *Territories*, they made an express Provision, that no *Religion* except the *Popish* should be tolerated here; so that the *Bailif*, who is the *Prince*, often hath not the free Liberty of his *Religion* in these Parts. The *Bailifs* here make their Advantages, as well as in the other Parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more Caution; for they take great care not to give the *Natives* any distast, tho the Miseries, to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the Abundance and Liberty in which they live, should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great Apprehensions of a Revolt: A great many *Mechanicks* of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all *Taxes*. I was told, that some *Nephews* of *Popes*, in particular the *Barberines*, had treated with the *Switzers*, to buy this Countrey from them, and so to erect it into a *Principality*; and that they had resolved to offer twelve hundred thousand *Crowns* to the twelve *Cantons*: but they found it would certainly be rejected; so they made not the propositions to the *Diet* of the *Cantons*, as they once intended: and it is certain, whensoever this Countrey is brought under a Yoke, like that which the rest of *Italy* bears, it will be soon abandoned; for there is nothing that draws so many People to live in so ill a Soil, when they are in sight of the best Soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble *Lake*, it is six and fifty Miles long, and in most places six Miles broad, and a hundred Fathom deep about the middle of it, it makes a great *Bay* to the Westward; and there lies here two Islands, called the *Berromean Islands*, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the

Lago Maggiore

Berromean Islands

World ; there is nothing in all *Italy* , that can be compared to them ; they have the full view of the *Lake* ; and the ground rises so sweetly in them, that nothing can be imagined like the *Terrasses* here; they belong to two *Counts* of the *Borromean Family*. I was only in one of them , which belongs to the *Head* of the *Family* , who is *Nephew* to the famous *Cardinal* known by the name of *S. Carlo* : on the West-end lies the *Palace* , which is one of the best of *Italy* ; for the Lodgings within , tho the *Architecture* is but ordinary , there is one noble Apartment above four and twenty foot high ; and there is a vast Addition making to it ; and here is a great Collection of noble *Pictures* , beyond any thing I saw out of *Rome* : The whole *Island* is a Garden, except a little corner to the South , set off for a *Village* of about forty little Houses ; and because the figure of the *Island* was not more regular by nature , they have built great *Vaults* and *Portico's* along the *Rock* , which are all made *Grotesque* , and so they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over those *Vaults*. There is first a *Garden* to the East , that rises up from the *Lake* , by five Rows of *Terrasses* , on the three sides of the *Garden* that are watered by the *Lake* ; the Stairs are noble ; the Walls are all covered with *Oranges* and *Citrons* ; and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen : There are two Buildings in the two Corners of this Garden , the one is only a Mill for fetching up the Water , and the other is a noble *Summer-house* all wainscotted , if I may speak so , with *Alabaster* and *Marble* , of a fine colour , inclining to red ; from this *Garden* one goes in a level to all the rest of the *Alleys* and *Parterres* , *Herb-Gardens* and *Flower-Gardens* ; in all which there are variety of *Fountains* and *Arbors* ; but the great *Parterre* is a surprising thing ; for as it is well furnished with *Statues* and *Fountains* , and is of a vast extent , and justly situated to the *Palace* , so at the Further-end of it , there is a great *Mound* , that face of it that looks to the *Parterre* is made like a *Theater* , all full of *Fountains* and *Statues* , the height

rising

rising up in five several Rows, it being about fifty
 foot high, and about fourscore foot in front; and round
 this Mount, answering to the five Rows into which the
 Theater is divided, there goes as many *Terrasses* of noble
Walks; the *Walls* are all as close covered with *Oranges* and
Citrons as any of our *Walls* in *England* are with *Laurel*:
 the Top of the Mount is seventy foot long and forty
 broad; and here is a vast *Cistern*, into which the Mill plays
 up the Water that must furnish all the Fountains: The
Fountains were not quite finished when I was there; but
 when all is finished, this place will look like an *Inland*
Island. The Freshness of the Air, it being both in a
Lake, and near the *Mountains*, the fragrant Smell, the
 beautiful Prospect, and the delighting Variety that is
 here, makes it such a Habitation for *Summer*, that per-
 haps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I
 went to *Sestio*, a miserable *Village* at the end of the *Lake*.
 and here I began to feel a mighty change, being now
 in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Coun-
 try that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it
 is so well watered, so sweetly divided by Rows of Trees,
 inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres
 compals, that it cannot be denied, that here is a
 vast extent of Soil, above two hundred Miles long,
 and in many places a hundred Miles broad, where
 the whole *Country* is equal to the loveliest spots
 in all *England* or *France*; it hath all the Sweetness that
Holland or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun, and
 a better Air; the Neighbour-hood of the *Mountains* cau-
 ses a freshness of Air here, that makes the Soil the most
 desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the *Govern-*
ment were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing
 but *Poverty* over all this rich *Country*. A *Traveller*
 in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furni-
 shed, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great
Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe *Diet*, in a Coun-
 try that he should think flowed with Milk and Honey:
 but I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore*

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giore discharges it self in the River *Tesine*, which runs with such a force, that we went thirty Miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the *Canale*, which *Francis the First* cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*; which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its Banks there are such provisions to discharge the Water when it riseth to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be; it lies also so even, that sometimes for six Miles together one sees the line so exact, that there is not the least crook: it is thirty Miles long, and is the best Advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water Carriage.

Milan. I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town, that hath no great Court, no Commerce, either by Sea, or any Navigable River, and that is now the Metropolis of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above sixty Miles square, and yet it produces a Wealth that is surprising: It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand Men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Souldiers effectively in it; so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is lodged: But the Vastness of the Town, the Nobleness of the Buildings, and above all, the surprising Riches of the Churches and Convents, are signs of great Wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner; but for the vastness and riches of the Building, it is equal to any in Italy, *St. Peters* it self not excepted. It is all Marble, both Pavement and Walls, both outside and inside, and on the Top it is all flagg'd with Marble; and there is the vastest Number of Niches for Statues of Marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true, the Statues in some of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themselves; the Frontispiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and Bas-reliefs; and Pillars,

of which there are four Rows in the Body of the Church, have each of them eight *Niches* at the top, for so many *Statues*; and tho one would think this Church so full of *Statues*, that almost every *Saint* hath his *Statue*, yet I was assured, they wanted *seven thousand* to finish the design; but these must chiefly belong to the *Frontispice*: The Church as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the *Quire* is wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw *Passion* so well expressed in *Wood*; it contains sixty *Stalls*, and they have almost all the *Histories* of the *Gospel* represented in them. Just under the *Cupulo* lies *S. Carlo's* Body, as I was told, in a great Case of *Cristal* of vast value; but I could not come near it; for we were there on two *Holy-days*, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the Superstition of the People for his Body, is such, that on a *Holy-day* one runs a hazard that comes near it without doing some Reverence. His *Canonization* cost the Town a hundred thousand *Crowns*; they pretend they have *Miracles* too for Cardinal *Frederigo. Borromeo*, but they will not set about his *Canonisation*, the price is so high. The *Plate* and other *Presents* made to *S. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value; some *Services* for the *Altar* are all of *Gold*; some very *Massive*, and set with *Jewels*, others so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the mettle; the *Habits* and all the other *Ornaments* for the Function of his *Canonisation* are all of an incredible Wealth. He was indeed a *Prelate* of great merit, and according to the *Answer* that a *Fryer* made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him, how they came to qualify one of the worst of their *Princes* with the Title of *Saint* in an inscription which he read, which was, that they gave that Title to all their *Benefactors*; never man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as *Cardinal Borromeo* did; for he laid out a prodigious Wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his *Family*, but the honour of having produced so great a man, which

is a real temporal inheritance to it; for as there have been since that time, two *Cardinals* of that *Family*, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an *Ecclesiastick* of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this *Archbishoprick*; for if there were one of the *Family* capable of it, and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the *State* to a *Rebellion*, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a Competition with one of this *Family*. He laid out a great deal on the *Dome*, and consecrated it, tho the work will not be quite finished yet for some *Ages*; that being one of the *Crafts* of the *Italian Priests*, never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished estate, they may be alwayes drawing great Donatives to it, from the Superstition of the People. He built the *Arch-Bishops Palace*, which is very noble, and a *Seminary*, a *Colledge* for the *Switzers*, several *Parish Churches*, and many *Convents*. In short, the whole *Town* is full of the marks of his Wealth. The Riches of the *Churches* of *Milan*, strike one with amazement, the *Building*, the *Painting*, the *Altars*, and the *Plate*, and every thing in the *Convents*, except their *Libraries*, are all signs both of great Wealth and of a very powerful Superstition; but their *Libraries* not only here, but all *Italy* over, are scandalous things; the *Room* is often fine, and richly adorned, but the *Books* are few, ill bound, and worse chosen; and the ignorance of the *Priests* both *secular* and *Regular* is such, that no man, that hath not had occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The *Convent* of *S. Victor*, that is without the *Town*, is by much the richest, it is composed of *Canons Regular*; called in *Italy* the *Order of Mount Olive*, or *Olivetans*; that of the *Bernabites* is extreame rich; there is a *Pulpit* and a *Confessional* all inlaid with *Agates*, of different colours, finely spotted *Marbles*, and of *Lapis Lazulis*, that are thought almost inestimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble *Cupulo*, and a *Pulpit* of the same form with that of the *Bernabites*. The *Jesuits*, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *S. Sebastians* are

are very rich. The *Cittadel* is too well known to need a description; it is very regularly built; and is a most effectual restraint to keep the *Town* in order, but it could not stand out against a good *Army* three dayes; for it is so little, and so full of Buildings, that it could not resist a shower of *Bombs*. The *Hospital* is indeed a Royal Building; I was told it had ninety thousand *Crowns* Revenue: The old *Court* is large, and would look noble, if it were not for the new *Court* that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square, and there are three rows of *Corridors* or *Galleries* all round the *Court*, one in every stage, according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the Lodgings very convenient, and gives a *Gallery* before every door: It is true, these take up a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open space, that is extream cool on that side where the *Sun* doth not lye; for it is all open to the *Air*, the *Wall* being only supported by *Pillars*, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this *Hospital* there are not only *Galleries* full of *Beds* on both sides, as is ordinary in all *Hospitals*; but there are also a great many *Chambers*, in which persons, whose condition was formerly distinguished, are treated with a particular Care. There is an out-house, which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the *Walls*, which belongs to this *Hospital*, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty *Rooms* in it, and a *Gallery* runs all along before the *Chambers*, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their *Doors*. In the middle of this vast square there is an *Octangular Chappel*, so contrived, that the sick from all their *Beds* may see the elevation of the *Hostie*, and adore it: This *House* is for the *Plague*, or for infectious *Fever*s; and the *Sick* that want a freer *Air*, are also removed hither.

As for the *Devotions* of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian Office*, which is distinguished from the *Roman*; both in the *Musick*, which is much simpler, and some other

Rites: the *Gospel* is read in a high *Pulpit* at the lower end of the *Quire*, that so it may be heard by all the people; tho' this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand: when they go to say high *Mass*, the *Priest* comes from the high *Altar* to the lower end of the *Quire*, where the *Offertory* of the *Bread* and the *Wine* is made by some of the *Lay*; they were *Nuns* that made it when I was there; I heard a *Capucin* Preach here; it was the first *Sermon* I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many Comical Expressions and Gestures, but most of all with the Conclusion; for there being in all the *Pulpits* of *Italy* a *Crucifix* on the side of the *Pulpit* towards the *Altar*; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced Transport, took it in his *Arms*, and hugged it, and kissed it: But I observed, that before he kiss'd it, he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully; for I was just under the *Pulpit*: He entertained it with a long and tender Carefs, and held it out to the people, and would have forced Tears both from himself and them; yet I saw none shed. But if the *Sermon* in the morning surprized me, I wondred no less at two *Discourses* that I heard in one *Church*, at the same time, in the afternoon: for there were two Bodies of men set down in different places of the *Church*, all covered, and two *Laymen*, in ordinary habits were entertaining them with *Discourses* of *Religion* in a Catechistical stile: These were *Confrairies*, and those were some of the more devout, that instructed the rest. This, as I never saw any where else, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan*, or not. My *Conductor* could not speak *Latin*, and the *Italian* there is so different from the true *Tuscan*, which I only knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter: but I am apt to think, it might have been some institution of *Cardinal Borromeo*. The *Ambrosian Library*, founded by *Cardinal Frederick Borromeo*, is a very noble Room, and wel furnished, only it is too full of *School-men* and

and *Canonists*; which are the chief *Studies* of *Italy*; and it hath too few *Books* of a more solid and useful learning. One part of the disposition of the *Room* was pleasant; there is a great number of *Chairs*, placed all round it at a competent distance from one another; and to every *Chair* there belongs a *Desk*, with an *Ecrivoire*, that hath *Pen*, *Ink*, and *Paper* in it; so that every *Man* finds tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little *Room* of *Manuscripts* at the end of the great *Gallery*, but the *Library-keeper* knows little of them; a great many of them relate to their *Saint Charles*. I saw some fragments of *Latin Bibles*, but none seemed to be above six hundred *Years* old; there are also some fragments of *Saint Ambroses Works*, and of *Saint Jeroms Epistles*, that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find *Saint Ambrose's Works* intire, that I might have seen, whether the *Books* of the *Sacraments*, are ascribed to him in ancient *Copies*; for perhaps they belong to a more modern *Author*. It is true, in these *Books*, the *Doctrine* of a sort of a *corporal presence* is ascribed in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it, than all those *Citations* can be for it; for the *Author* gives us the formal *Words* of the *Prayer of Consecration* in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: *will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenuy Words? For the Priest saith, &c.* But whereas in the present *Canon* of the *Mass*, the *Prayer of consecration* is for a good part of it very near in the same *Words* with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference; for in the *Canon* they now pray, that the *Hosty* may be to them *the Body and Blood of Christ*; (which by the way doth not agree too well with the notion of *Transubstantiation*, and approacheth more to the *Doctrine* of the *Lutherans*;) whereas in the *Prayer*, cited by that *Author*, the *Hosty* is said to be *The Figure of the Body and Blood of Christ*: here is the language of the whole *Church* of that time, and in the most important part of the

Divine Office, which signifieth more to me, than a thousand *Quotations* out of particular Writers, which are but their *Private Opinions*: but this is the *Voice* of the *whole Body* in its *Addresses* to God: and it seems, the *Church of Rome*, when the new *Doctrine* of the *Corporal Presence* was received, saw that this *Prayer of Consecration* could not consist with it, which made her change such a main Part of the *Office*. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient *Offices*, but I found none in the *Abbey of St. Germain's*, that seemed older than the times of *Charles the Great*; so I found none of any great *Antiquity* in all *Italy*: Those published by *Cardinal Bona*, and since by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the most ancient that are in the *Vatican*; but these seem not to be above eight hundred years old: There are none of the ancient *Roman Offices* now to be seen in the *Vatican*. I was amazed to find none of any great *Antiquity*; which made me conclude, that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern *Rituals* might not be turned against that *Church*, as an undeniable Evidence, to prove the *Changes* that she hath made in *Divine Matters*; or, that they were so well kept, that *Hereticks* were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambrosian Library*, there is in it a *Manuscript* of great *Antiquity*, tho not of such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Translation of *Iosephus*, that is written in the old *Roman hand*, which is very hard to be read. But there is a deed in the curious Collection that *Count Mascardi* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius's* time, which is the same sort of writing with the *Manuscript* of *Ruffinus*, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus* his own time; and this is the most valuable, tho the least known Curiosity in the whole *Library*.

I need not say any thing of the curious *Works* in *Christal* that are to be seen in *Milan*, the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought

here;

here, but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain, the *Alps* have much *Wealth* shut up in their *Rocks*, if the *Inhabitants* knew how to search for it: But I heard of no *Mines* that were wrought, except *Iron Mines*; yet by the colourings, that in many places the *Fountains* make, as they run along the *Rocks*, one sees cause to believe, that there are *Mines* and *Minerals* shut up within them. Gold has been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last *curiosity* that I shall mention of the *Town of Milan*, is the *Cabinet* of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things, both of *Art* and *Nature*: there is a lump of *Ore*, in which there is both *Gold*, and *Silver*, and *Emeralds*, and *Diamonds*, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions, where by an unseen Spring, a *Ball*, after it hath rowled down through many winding descents is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion; this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little *Animals*, that run about by Springs, are also very pretty. There is a *Loadstone* of a vast force, that carries a great *Chain*: There is also a moustrous *Child*, that was lately born in the *Hospital*, which is preserved in *Spirit of Wine*: it is double below, it hath one *Breast* and *Neck* two pair of *Ears*, a vast *Head*, and but one *Face*. As for the *Buildings* in *Milan*, they are big and substantial; but they have not much regular, or beautiful *Architecture*: The *Governor's Palace* hath some noble *Apartments* in it: the chief *Palace* of the *Town* is that of the *Homodei*, which was built by a *Bankier*. There is one *Inconvenience* in *Milan*, which throws down all the *Pleasure* that one can find in it: They have no *glass Windows*, so that one is either exposed to the *Air*, or shut up in a *Dungeon*: and this is so universal, that there is not one *House* often that hath *Glass* in their *Windows*: The same *Defect* is in *Florence*, besides all the small *Towns* of *Italy*, which is an effect of their *Poverty* Fort what by the *Oppression* of the *Government*, wha by the no less squeezing *Oppression* of their *Priests*, who drain all the rest of their *Wealth*,

that is not eat up by the *Prince*, to enrich their *Churches* and *Convents*, the People here are reduced to a Poverty, that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their *Churches*: and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a Treasure can be found; but *Purgatory* is a Fund not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese* consists chiefly in their *Silks*, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India Companies* bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languish extremely by the great fall that is in the *Silk-Trade*. There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the *Nobility* affect to make a noble Appearance, both in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the *Women* go abroad with more Freedom here, than in any *Town of Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Yours,

Postscript.

Geneva. In the Account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to Mention a very extraordinary Person that is there, *Mistress Walkier*; her Father is of *Shaff-house*, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a Stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night: and when any person stands between her and the light, she will distinguish by the Head and its dress a Man from a Woman; but when she turns down her Eyes, she sees nothing: she hath a vast Memory; besides the *French*, that is her natural Language, she speaks both *High-Dutch*, *Italian* and *Latin*: she hath all the *Psalms* by heart, in *French*; and many of them in *Dutch* and *Italian*: she understands the *Old Philosophy* well; and is now studying the *New*: she hath studied the Body of *Divinity* well, and hath the Text of the *Scriptures* very ready: On all which matters I had long conversation with her; she not only sings well, but she plays rarely on the *Organ*; and I was told, she

she played on the *Violin*, but her *Violin* was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly: in order to her learning to write, her Father, who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnisheth her with Masters of all sorts, ordered *Letters* to be carved in Wood, and she by feeling the *Characters*, formed such an *Idea* of them, that she writes with a *Crayon* so distinctly, that her writing can be well read, of which I have several *Essays*. I saw her write; she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined; she hath a Machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her alwayes in Line. But that which is above all the rest; she is a person of extraordinary Devotion, great resignation to the Will of God, and a profound humility: The *Preceptor*, that her Father kept in the house with her, hath likewise a wonderful Faculty of acquiring *Tongues*. When he came first to *Geneva* (for he is of *Zurich*) he spoke not a word of *French*, and within thirteen Months he preacht in *French* correctly, and with a good Accent: He also began to study *Italian* in the Month of *November*, and before the end of the following *February* he preacht in *Italian*; his accent was good, and his stile was floried, which was very extraordinary; for the *Italian* Language is not spoken in *Geneva*, tho the race of the *Italians* do keep up still an *Italian* Church there.

THE THIRD LETTER.

Florence, the 5th of November, 1685.

I Have now another *Month* over my Head, since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an Account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me since my last from *Milan*. Twenty miles from *Lodi*. *Milan* we past through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, tho a Frontier Town; but indeed, the Frontiers, both of the *Spaniards* and the *Venetians*, as well as those of the other *Princes* of *Italy*, shew that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when one passes through those places, which are represented in *History*, as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledge, that the sight of them brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now so many *dayes*, as it did then years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the *Venetian* Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the *Venetian* Dominion live happier than under the *Spaniard*.

The Senate sends *Podesta's*, much like the *Bailiffs* of the *Switzers*, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdiction assigned them: There is also a *Captain-General*, who hath the *Military* Authority in his hands; and these two are Checks upon one another, as the *Bess's* and the *Cadi's* are among the *Turks*. But here in *Crema*, the Town is so small, that both these are in one person. We were there in the time of the *Fair*, *Linnen* Cloth, and *Cheese* (which tho it goes by the name

of the *Parmesan*, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Commodities of the Fair. The magnificence of the *Podestà* appeared very extraordinary; for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches, in which he and his Lady ride, were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the out-side black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, *Brescia* which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth; here they make the best *Barrils* for *Pistols* and *Muskets* of all *Italy*: there are great Iron Works near it; but the War with the *Turk* had occasioned an order, that none might be sold without a Permission from *Venice*: They are building a Noble *Dome* at *Brescia*: I was shewed a *Nunnery* there, which is now under a great Disgrace; some years ago, a new *Bishop* coming thither, began with the Visitation of that *Nunnery*; he discovered two *Vaults*, by one, *Men* came ordinarily into it; and by another, the *Nuns* that were big, went and lay in of Child-bed: when he was examining the *Nuns* severely concerning those *Vaults*, some of them told him, that his own *Priests* did much worse. He shut up the *Nuns*, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the House will soon come to an end. The *Citadel* lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here, and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve years to their *Podestà's*, which is matter of great Ornament to their *Palaces*, but will grow to a vast charge; for they erect *Statues* to their *Podestà's*: and this being once begun, must be carried on; otherwise those to whom the like honour is not done, will resent it as a high affront; and the *Revenge*s of the Noble *Venetians* are dreadful things to their Subjects. This name of *Podestà* is very ancient; for in the *Roman* times, the chief *Magistrates* of the lesser Towns were called the *Potestas*, as appears by that of *Juvenal*, *Fidenarum Gabiorumve esse Potestas*.

From

From *Brescia*, the beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted; for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia* is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the *Lake Mountains*, and we pass by the *Lake of Garda*, which *Guarda* is forty miles long, and where it is broadest, is twenty miles over: The *Miles* indeed, all *Lombardy* over, are extream short; for I walkt often four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a thousand paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Napels*, the mile is fifteen hundred paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight miles on this side of *Verona*, which *Verona* begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it: but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little money going, that it is not easie here to change a *Pistol*, without taking their Coyn of base Alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the *Venetians*, to suffer those small States, to retain still a Coyn peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the *Amphisheater*, one of the least of all that the *Romans* built, but the best preserved; for tho most of the great Stones of the outside are pickt out; yet the great flopping Vault, on which the rows of the seats are laid, is intire; the rows of the seats are also intire, they are four and forty Rows; every Row is a foot and half high, and as much in breadth, so that a Man sits conveniently in them under the feet of those of the higher Row: & allowing every Man a foot and a half, the whole *Amphisheater* can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the *Vaults*, under the Rows of Seats, were the stalls of the *Beasts* that were presented to entertain the Company: the thickness of the Building, from the outward Wall to the lowest Row of Seats, is ninty foot: But this Noble Remnant of *Antiquity*, is so often, and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole Apartment of Rooms, all furnisht with *Antiquities*; and

Rare

Rarities. There are some old Inscriptions, made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the honour of *M. Crassus*: There is a great Collection of *Medals* and *Medaillons*, and of the *Roman Weights*, with their Instruments for their *Sacrifices*; there are many *Curiosities of Nature*, and a great Collection of *Pictures*, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* Hand. There is a noble Garden in *Verona*, that riseth up in Terrasses the whole height of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to *Count Gissto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is thirty miles, we return to the Beauty of *Lombardy*; for there is all the way as it were a Succession of Gardens: the ground is better cultivated here, than I saw it in any other place of *Italy*: But the *Wine* is not good; for at the roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine; which grows up winding about the Tree, to which it joyns; but the Soil is too rich to produce a rich wine; for that requireth a dry ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary *Wine*, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of *Canary*, it is not made till *Christmas*, and from thence it carries the Name of *Holy Wine*; and it is not to be drunk till *Midsummer*; for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear; but I have not marked down how long it may be kept: we had it there for a Groat an *English* quart; I wondred that they did not trade with it. All the *Cattel* of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their *Hogs* are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things: it is certain, *Hogs-Flesh* in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not, I know not; the Husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but *Cattel* of that grayish colour, are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them; and this is very hard work in *Lombardy*, when it hath rained ever so little; for the ground being quite level, and there being no raised High-ways, or Causeways, the Carts go deep, and are hardly drawn.

Vincenza

Vincenza hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less; for it delivered it self to the *Venetians*; whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of Liberty in *Vincenza*, in the Riches of their *Palaces* and *Churches*, of which many are newly built: they have a modern *Theater*, made in imitation of the ancient *Roman Theaters*. *Count Velarano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town; there is in it a very noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as big as a Mans Body, but those are covered all the Winter long; for in this appears the sensible difference of *Lombardy* from those parts of *Italy*; that here to the South of the *Apenins*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes, as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breezes, that blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens; and in the *Kingdom of Naples*, they grow wild, without any Care or Cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the afternoon: I did not wonder at what a *French Papist* said to me, that he could hardly bear the *Religion of Italy*, the *Idolatry* in it was so gross. The *Statue* of the *Virgin* was of Wood, so finely painted, that I thought the head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about, I do not know; but in the morning all people ran to it, and said their prayers to it, and Kissed the Ground before it, with all the appearance of Devotion.

Padua. From *Vincenza* it is eighteen milles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City; which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing.

the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things, except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The *University* here, tho so much supported by the *Venetians*, that they pay fifty *Professors*, yet sinks extreamly: there are no men of any great Fame now in it: and the quarrels among the *Students* have driven away most of the *Strangers* that used to come and study here; for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun set: The number of the *Palaces* here is incredible, and tho the *Nobility* of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient *Palaces* shews what they once were. The *Venetians* have been willing to let the ancient Quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue still among them; for while one kills another, and the Children of the other take their *Revenge*s afterwards, both comes under the *Bando* by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the *Senate*. At some times of *Grace*, when the Senate wants Money, and offers a pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty persons are incredible. In *Vincenza*, and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by *Monsieur Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a *Professor* in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty thousand pardoned at the last *Grace*; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The *Nobility* of *Padua*, and of the other *Towns*, seem not to see what a profit their Quarrels bring to the *Venetians*, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the same mans time, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen thousand *Ducats* Revenue, to less than three thousand, by its falling at several times under the *Bando*. But their Jealousies and their *Revenge*s are pursued by them with so much vigour, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the *Amphitheater*, tho nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here, as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town, called the *City*, and an outward, without that, called the *Burgo*; but tho there

there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight miles in compass, it lies almost round: The publick *Hall* is the Noblest of *Italy*. The *Dome* is an ancient and mean Building: But the Church of *S. Anthony*, especially the *Holy Chappel* in it, where the *Saint* lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chappel, the chief *Miracles* in the legend of that *Saint* are represented in *Mezzo Rilievo*, in a very surprizing manner: The devotion that is paid to this *Saint*, all *Lombardy* over, is amazing: he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask Alms for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the *Holy Chappel*, there is one that is the highest pitch of *Blasphemy* that can be imagined, *Exaudis*, speaking of the *Saint*, *quos non audit & ipse Deus; he hears those whom God himself doth not hear*. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the *Architecture* is so beautiful, it is so well inlightned, and the *Cupulo's* are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of Brick, and it hath no Frontispiece; there are many new Altars, made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of *Statues* of Marble. This *Abby* hath a hundred thousand *Ducats* of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine Order*. *Cardinal Barberigo* is *Bishop* here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his pattern; he hath founded a Noble *Seminary* for the secular *Priests*; he lives in a constant discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his *Clergy* all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his *Canons*, who are all *Noble Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged: he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary man.

Venice. In the *Venetian Territory* their subjects live easie and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their *Quarrels*; but tho the Taxes are not high, they oppress their *Tenants* so severely, that the *Peasants* live most miserably.

yet on all hands round about them, the Oppressions being more intolerable, they know not whither to go for ease; whereas on the contrary, the miseries under which their Neighbours groan, chiefly those of the *Ecclesiastical State*, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stoekt with people; but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding *Military* matters, which may dispose them to revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their *Wars*; this jealousy is the true ground of that maxim, tho another is pretended, that is more plausible, which is, their Care of their own people, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers, rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain, a revolt here, were no hard matter to effectuate; for the *Garrisons* and *Fertifications* are so slight, that those great *Towns* could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the *Factions* that still reign among them, by which one party would chuse rather to expose the other to the rigor of the *Inquisitors*, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty; and the *Inquisitors* in such cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares trust another with a Secret of such consequence; and the oppressed Nobility of those *States*, retain still so much of their old and unsubdued Insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong *Cittadels*, and numerous *Garrisons* spread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many *Palaces* of the Noble *Venetians* on both sides of the River, built with so great a variety of *Architecture*, that there is not one of them like another; there is also the like diversity in the laying out of their *Gardens*; and here they retire during the hot months; and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute Liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina*, which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six miles on the *Lagunes*, or shallows, to *Venice*; these shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an Island,

Island, is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the *Sea* is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the Channels of their *Lagoon*, and to keep them full of Water: and yet many think, that the Water hath failed so much in this last age, that it continues to abate at the same rate, within an age or two more, *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing sight in the whole World, to see so vast a *City*, situated thus in the *Sea*, and such a number of *Islands* so united together by *Bridges*, brought to such a regular figure, the *Pilots* supplying the want of earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And tho' this *Republick* is much sunk from what it was, both by the great Losses they have suffered in their *Wars* with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of *Trade*, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to describe neither the *Church* nor the *Palace* of *S. Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them; the painting of the Walls, and the roof of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the *Palace*, are of vast value; Here I saw that Story of *Pope Alexander the III.* treading on the neck of the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*. The Nobleness of the Stair-cases, the Riches of the Halls, and the Beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the Beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so Noble a *Palace*: And the great Hall, where the whole body of the *Nobility* meet, in the *Great Council*, hath nothing but the roof and walls that answers to such an Assembly; For the Seats are liker the benches of an Auditory of Schollars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two sides of this *Palace* are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousst *Palaces* that the World can shew. The two sides that are now seen, the one facing the square of *St. Mark*, and the

other the great *Canale*, are only of Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the *War of Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast Riches of the Building, it is dark and low; but the pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole roof is also Mosaick, the outside and inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispice is adorned with so many Pillars of *Porphiry* and *Jasper*. and above all with the four *Horses of Corinthian Brass*, that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the gilding is still very bright, that when all this is considered, one doth nowhere see so much cost brought together. I did not see the *Gospel of St. Mark*, which is one of the valuablest things of the Treasure; but they do not now open it to Strangers; yet *Doctor Grandi*, a famous Physician there, told me, that by a particular order, he was suffered to open it; he told me, it was all writ in *Capital Letters*, but the Characters were so worn out, that tho he could discern the Ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them, or to know wheter the M. S. was in *Greek* or *Latin*. I will not say one Word of the *Arsenal*; for as I saw it in its worst State, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it hath been often described, and it is known to be the Noblest *Magazine*, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety, that is in the whole World: its true, it is all that this *State* hath; so that if the *Magazines* of other *Princes*, which lie spread up and down in the different Places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew. The Noblest *Convent* of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *Saint John* and *Saint Paul*; the Church and Chappels are vastly rich: there is one of *Saint Luke's Madona's* here, as they pretend; the *Dormitory* is very great; the Room for the *Library*, and every thing in it, except

cept the *Books*, is extream fine. But *Saint George's*, which is a *Convent* of the *Benedictines*, in an *Isle* intirely possessed by them, over against *Saint Marks Square*, is much the richest: the *Church* is well contriv'd, and well adorned: and not only the whole Building is very Magnificent; but which is more extraordinary at *Venice*, they have a large Garden, and noble walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute*, are two Noble *Churches*, that are the effects of Vows that the *Senate* made when they were afflicted with the *Plague*, the latter is much the finer, it is to the *Virgin*; and the other is only to our *Saviour*: so naturally doth the *Devotion* of that *Church* carry it higher for the *Mother* than the *Son*. It is true, the *Salute* is later than the other, so no wonder if the *Architecture* and the riches exceed that which is more ancient. The *School* of *Saint Roch*, and the *Chapel*, and *Hall*, are full of great pieces of *Tintoretto*: a *Cena*, of *Paulo Veronese* in the *Refectory* of *St. George*, and the *Picture* of *St. Seter* the *Martyr* of *Titian*, are the most celebrated pieces of *Venice*: *Duke Francesco's Tomb* in the *Friary* is the Noblest I ever saw. Be if the riches of all the *Convents*, and the *Parish Churches* of *Venice* amased me, the *Fronts* especially, many of which are of white *Marble*, beautified with several *Statues*; the meanness of the *Library* of *S. Mark* did no less surprize me. There are in the *Antichamber* to it, *Statues* of vast value, and the whole *Roof* of the *Library* is compos'd of several pieces of the greatest *Masters* put in several *Frames*: but the *Library* had nothing answerable to the *Riches* of the *Cafe*; for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all modern; I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old. I was indeed told, that the last *Library-keeper* was accus'd for having convey'd away many of their *Manuscripts*, and that four years ago being clapt in prison for this by the *Inquisitors*; he, to prevent further Severities, poisoned himself. I went to the *Convent* of the *Servi*, where I found *Father Paul* was not in such consideration there.

he is elsewhere. I asked for his Tomb, but they made no account of him, and seemed not to know where it was; it is true, the person to whom I was recommended, was not in *Venice*, so perhaps they refined too much in this matter: I had great Discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the *Memorials* out of which *F. Paul* drew his *History*, which are no doubt all preserved with great care in their *Archives*; and since the *Transactions* of the *Council of Trent*, as they are of great Importance, so they are become now much controverted, by the different Relations that *F. Paul*, and *Cardinal Pallavicini* have given the World of that matter; the only way to put an end to all Disputes in matter of Fact, is to print the *Originals* themselves. A Person of great Credit at *Venice*, promised to me, to do his utmost, to get that Proposition set on foot, tho the great Exactness that the *Government* there hath alwayes affected, as to the matter of their *Archives*, is held so sacred, that this made him apprehend, they would not give way to any such search. The Affinity of the matter brings into my mind a long Conversation that I had with a person of great Eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Constantinople*, so he was learned far beyond what is to be met with in *Italy*; he told me, he was at *Constantinople* when the Inquiry into the Doctrine of the *Greek Church* was set on foot, occasioned by the famous Dispute between *Mr. Arnaud* and *Mr. Claude*, he being a zealous *Roman Catholick*, was dealt with to assist in that business; but being a Man of great Honour and Sincerity, he excused himself, and said, he could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad Opinion of the *Greeks*; and he told me, That none of their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the Church of Rome than those that were bred up at Rome; for they, to free themselves of the prejudices that their Countreymen are apt to conceive against them, because of their Education among the *Latines*, do affect to shew an Opposition to the *Latin Church* beyond any other *Greeks*. He told me, that he knew the Ignorance and Corruption of the *Greeks* was

old. Hist.
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such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little Money, or the hope of Protection from any of the *Ambassadors* that came from the West, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them. He added one thing, that tho he firmly believed *Transubstantiation* himself, he did not think they believed it, let them say what they pleased themselves; he took his measures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, than from what they said: For their *Rites* not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw Advantages or Protection set before them; therefore he concluded, that since they did not adore the *Sacrament* after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the *Corporeal Presence*; and was of a force well able to balance all their Subscriptions: He told me, he was often scandalized to see them open the Bag, in which the *Sacrament* was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect, no more than when they shewed any *Manuscript*; and he looked on *Adoration* as such a necessary Consequent of *Transubstantiation*, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an Eminent *Catholick* at *Paris* told me; he said, the *Originals* of those Attestations, were in too exact and too correct a stile, to have been formed in *Greece*; he assured me, they were penned at *Paris*, by one that was a Master of the Purity of the *Greek Tongue*. I do not name these Persons, because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the famous young *Widow* that spake five *Tongues* well, of which the *Latin* and *Greek* were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua*, according to the ordinary Forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary Vertue and Piety, that she is spoken of as a Saint; she died some Months before

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before I came to *Venice*: she was of the noble Family of the *Cornaro's*, tho not of the three chief Branches, which are *Saint Maurice*, *Saint Paul*, and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned *Queen of Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Family was *Pisconia*. Her extraordinary merit made all people unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent of the one side; for tho the *Cornaro's* reckon themselves a size of *Nobility* beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long, that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and payed a considerable Fine to save the forfeiture of *Nobility*, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers birth. The *Cornaro's* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves *Nuns*, because they thought their own Name was so Noble, that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the antientest Families, that was extream rich, and she had scarce any portion at all, (for the *Cornaro's* are now very low) some of their Friends came to wish them joy of so advantageous a Match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wish the *Sagredo's* joy, since they thought the Advantage was wholly of their side.

There are of the truly Ancient Noble Families of *Venice*, four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these, there are twelve that are thought superior to the rest in rank: since the first Formation of their *Senate*, they have created many *Senators*. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferred that honour on thirty Families: several of their *Generals* have had that honour given them as a reward of their service: They have also offered this honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry the III.* when he came through *Venice* from *Poland*, to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sat among them,

them, and drew his *Ballot* as a Noble *Venetian*: many *Popes* have procured this honour for their *Nephews*. Only the *Barberines* would have the *Venetians* offer it to them without their asking it, and the *Venetians* would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the *War of Candy*, Cardinal *Fran:is Barberine* gave twelve thousand *Crowns* a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble *Venetians* was, that the *Queen Mother of France* moved the *Senate* to grant it. In all the Creations of *Senators* before the last War of *Candy*, they were free; and the Considerations were, either great Services, or the great Dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called *Ducal Families*; and those that were called simply *New Families*; the Reason of the former designation is not rightly understood; but one that knew all that related to that Constitution particularly well, gave me a good account of it. That which naturally occurs as the Reason of it, is, that all those Families, that are called *Ducal*, have had the *Dukedom* in their House: But as all the *old Families* have had the same Honour, though they carry not that Title, so some of the *new Families* have also had it, that yet are not called *Ducal*. Others say, that those Families that have had branches, who have been made *Dukes*, without their being first *Procurators of S. Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called *Ducal*: But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years, there was a combination made among those *new Families* to preserve the *Dukedom* still among them: For the *old Families* carrying it high, and excluding the *new Families* from the chief Honours, nineteen of the *new Families* entred into mutual Ingagements to exclude the ancient *Nobility*: It is true, they made the *Dukedom* sometimes fall on some of the *new Families* that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that

it appeared, that they bore the chiefsway in the Election, This Combination was a thing known to the very people, tho the *Inquisitors* did all they could to break it, or at least to hide it, so that I never met with it in any of their Authors. But this failed in the year 1620. when *Memmia* was chosen *Duke*, who was descended of one of the ancient *Nobility*, which was so great a mortification to the *Casa Ducale*, that one of them (*Veniero*) hanged himself, by the Rage to which that Disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time, before he was dead, and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time, one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Cornaro's*, and one of the *Contarini's*, and the present Prince, of the *Justiniani*, the first of that family that hath had that honour, have been *Dukes*, who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known (even in *Venice* it self) that it was ever amongst them; and thus time, and other *Accidents* bring about happy Events, which no Care nor Industry could produce: For that which all the Endeavours of the *Inquisitors* could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true, the Factions in *Venice*, tho violent enough in the persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them, as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who tho they value themselves as a size of men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of people, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity, to conduct their *State*; since by their domestick Heats they lost their Liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the wisdom still to preserve. This Faction of the *Casa Ducale* was perhaps willing to let the matter fall; for they lost more than they got by it; for the Ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous Employments of the *State*. For the others being only united in that single point relating to the *Dukedom*, the Ancient Families let them carry it; but in all

other Competitions they set up alwayes such Competitors against the Pretenders that were of the *Ducal Families*, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the *Republick*. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in Conclusion have proved fatal to their Liberty. It is indeed a Wonder to see, the Dignity of the *Duke* so much courted; for he is only a Prisoner of State, tyed up to such Rules, so severely restrained and shut up as it were in an Apartment of the *Palace of S. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornaro's* decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the *Senate*, when a *Duke* is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of kin. sits still, but without a Vote: And the only Real Privilege that the *Duke* hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the *Council of Ten*, to the *Senate*, or to the *Great Council*; whereas all other propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of *Tribunitian* Power to reject what they dislike; and tho they cannot hinder the *Duke* to make a Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it; they can hinder it to be voted; and after it is voted, they can suspend the execution of it till it is examined over again: And a *Duke*, that is of an active Spirit, must resolve to indure many of these Afflictions; and it is certain, that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew the Greatness of their Authority, and exercise a sort of Tyranny in the rejecting of Propositions, when they intend to humble those that make them: yet the greatest part of the best Families court this Honour of *Dukedom* extreamly. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being chosen *Duke*, there was so violent an Out-cry against it over all *Venice*, because of the Disgrace, that they thought would come on the *Republick*, if they had a *Prince*, whose Nose had miscarried in some unfortunate Disorders; the *Senate* complied so far with this Aversion, that

that the people testified, that tho the Inquisitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the design for *Sagredo* fall: Upon which he was so much disgusted, that he retired to a house he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: During which time of his Retirement, he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomatiche*, which is Printed; and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors. The other was *Memoires of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been Printed; and some say, it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their *Archives*. It hath been a sort of Maxim now for some time, not to chuse a married man to be *Duke*, for the Coronation of a *Duchess* goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand *Ducats*. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of *Prince*, and have called their branches, *Princes of the Blood*; and tho the *Cornaro's* have done this more than any other, yet others upon the account of some *Principalities*, that their Ancestors had in the *Ilands* of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the *Inquisitors* have long ago obliged them, to lay aside all those high Titles; and such of them as boast too much of their blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of *Ambassadors* was proposed, or of any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, that the *Council* must chuse one of its *Principal Members* for such an employment: But because this lookt like a term of Distinction among the *Nobility*, they changed it five and twenty years ago; and instead of *Principal*, they use now the term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole body of their *Nobility*, without any distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the *Church*, as well as in the *State*, that the *Head* of the *Body* hath a great Title; and particular Honours done him; whereas in the mean while this is a

meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow of Authority; for their *Bishop* has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the *Duke* is called their *Prince*, and his *Serenity*, and hath his name stamp'd upon their Coyn; so the *Patriarch* with all this high Title, hath really no Authority: For not only *Saint Marks Church* is intirely exempted from his jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the *Duke*, but his Authority is in all other things so subject to the *Senate*, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power, than they are pleased to allow him: So that the *Senate* is as really the supream Governour over all persons, and in all causes, as the *Kings of England* have pretended to be in their own *Dominions* since the *Reformation*: But besides all this, the *Clergy of Venice* have a very extraordinary sort of Exemption, and are a sort of a body like a *Presbytery* independent of the *Bishop*: The *Curats* are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no *Noble Venetian* is suffered to pretend to any *Curacy*; for they think it below that dignity, to suffer one of their body, to engage in a competition with one of a lower order, and so run the hazard of being rejected, I was told, the manner of those Elections was the most scandalous thing possible; for the several Candidates appear on the day of Election, and set out their own Merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the sowlest Language, and in the most scurrilous manner imaginable; the secrets of all their Lives are publisht in most reproachful terms, and nothing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on those occasions: There is a sort of an Association among the *Curats* for judging of their common concerns, and some of the *Laitie* of the several Parishes assist in those *Courts*, so that here is a real *Presbytery*. The great Libertinage, that is so undecently practis'd by most sorts of people at *Venice*, extends it self to the *Clergy* to such a degree, that tho Ignorance and Vice, seem the only indelible Characters, that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous man-

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ner than elsewhere; and upon these popular elections all comes out. The *Nuns* of *Venice* have been under much scandal for a great while; there are some *Nunnerys* that are as famous for their strictness and exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take: chiefly those of *Saint Zachary* and *Saint Laurence*, where none but *Noble Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended, that they have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done meerly, that they might not be too great a Charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their neck and breast is bare, and they receive much company: but that which I saw, was in a publick Room, in which there were many *Grills* for several Parlors, so that the conversation is very confused; for there being a different company at every *Grill*, and the *Italians* speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud Talkers, is very disagreeable. The *Nuns* talk much, and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a liberty in Rallying, that other places could not bear. About four years ago the *Patriarch* intended to bring in a Reform into those Houses; but the *Nuns* of *S. Laurence*, with whom he began, told him plainly, they were *Noble Venetians*, who had chosen that way of life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his Regulations; yet he came and would shut up their house, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the *Senate* interposed, and ordered the *Patriarch* to desist. There is no *Christian State* in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church mens getting into the publick Councils so much as the *Venetians*; for as a *Noble Venetian*, that goes into Orders, loses thereby his right of going to vote in the great Council; so when any of them are promoted to be *Cardinals*, the whole kindred and family must (during their lives) withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all employments: And by a clause, which they added when they received the *Inqn sition*, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them;

for it being provided, that the *Inquisitors* should do nothing but in the presence of such as should be Deputed by the *Senate*, to be the Witnesses of their proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but when they think fit; or will not stay longer than they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence, or their withdrawing, dissolves the *Court*: for a Citation cannot be made, a Witness cannot be examined, nor the point of Form carried on, if the Deputies of the *Senate* are not present: and thus it is, that tho there is a *Court of Inquisition* at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any person brought into trouble by it; and there are many of the *Protestant Religion* that live there without any trouble: and tho there is a *Congregation* of them there, that hath their exercises of *Religion* very regularly, yet the *Senate* gives them no trouble. It is true, the *Hosty's* not being carried about in *Procession*, but secretly by the *Priest* to the Sick, makes that this uneasy discrimination of *Protestant* and *Papist*, doth not offer it self here, as in other places; for the straitness of the streets, and the Channals through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere; and from *Venice* this Rule is carried over their whole *Territory*, tho the like Reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The *Venetians* are generally ignorant of the matters of *Religion* so scandal, and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are Strangers to them; so that all that vast pomp in their Ceremonies, and wealth in their *Churches*, is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, than that *Superstition* hath here such a power over the Spirits of the People, as it hath elsewhere: for the *Atheism* that is received by many here, is the dullest, and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young *Nobility* are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown; and for *Military* Cor-

rage, there is scarce so much as the Ambition of being
 thought brave remaining among the greater part of
 them. It seemed to me a strange thing, to see the *Broglio*,
 so full of graceful young *Senators* and *Nobles*, when
 there was so glorious a War on foot with the *Turks*; but
 instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard
 their lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of
 Folly, for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money
 can hire Strangers, that do it on such easie terms; and thus
 their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at
 home managing their Intrigues in the *Broglio*, and dissol-
 ving their spirits among their *Courtisans*. And the Repu-
 tation of their Service is of late years so much sunk,
 that it is very strange to see so many come to a service
 so decayed, where there is so little care had of the *Soldiers*,
 and so little regard had to the *Officers*; the Arrears
 are so slowly pay'd, and the Rewards are so scantily distri-
 buted, that if they do not change their Maxims, they
 may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects
 are not acquainted with Warlike matters, so their Nobil-
 ity have no sort of Ambition that way, and strangers are
 extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of
 affairs that they owe their Safety; for the Feebleness of all
 their Neighbours, the *Turk*, the *Emperour*, the
King of Spain, the *Pope*, and the *Duke of Mantua*; pre-
 serves them from the apprehension of an Invasion; and the
 Quarrels, and Degeneracy of their Subjects, save them
 from the Fears of a Revolt; but a formidable Neighbour
 would put them hard to it. One great Occasion of
 the Degeneracy of the *Italians*, and in particular of
 the *Venetian Nobility*, is a Maxim that hath been taken
 up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of
 their Families, it is fit that only one of a Family should
 marry; to which I will not add, that it is generally be-
 lieved, that the Wife is in common to the whole Fam-
 ily. By this means the younger Brothers, that have Ap-
 pointments for Life, and that have no Families that come
 from them, are not stirred up by any Ambition to signalize

themselves, or to make Families, and so they give way to all the Laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the best Services done in other States, flows from the Necessities as well as the Aspirings of younger Brothers, or their Families, whose blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their Pride and Necessities push them on, to acquire first a Reputation, and then Fortune: But all this is a Mystery to the Venetians, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all those things that may blunt and depress their Minds; and youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves Pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the Licentiousness of unmitted Disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World, where pleasure is most studied, and where the youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it; yet it is the place that I ever saw, where true and innocent Pleasure is the least understood; in which I will make a little Digression, that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the Pleasures of Friendship, or Marriage, they are Strangers to them; for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes; that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*; but most of all in *Venice*: and tho we have been told of several Stories of celebrated Friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives, they are bred to so much ignorance, and they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull Superstition on Holydayes, in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little Liberty they have of going abroad on those dayes, as Children do their Hours of play: They are not employed in their Domestic Affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work; so that I was told, that they were the insipid Creatures imaginable: They are perhaps as vicious as in other places, but it is among them downright Lewdness;

for they are not drawn into it, by the intanglements of *Amour*, that inveigle and lead many persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first; but in them, the first step, without any preamble or preparative, is downright beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said, *their jealousy made them restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those Domestick Entertainments of Wit, Conversation, and Friendship, that the French or English have at home*: It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that Liberty; but the *Italians*, by their excessive Caution, made that they had none of the true Delights of a Married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasy jealousy, they were still in danger of a contraband *Nobility*; therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid Companion, instead of a lively Friend, tho' she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their houses, they have nothing convenient at *Venise*; for the *Architecture* is almost all the same: one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the Body of the Houle, and Chambers on both hands; but there are no Apartments, no Closets or Backstairs; so that in houses that are of an excessive Wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Bedsteads are of Iron, because of the vermin that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a huge step to get up to them; their great Chairs are all upright, without a slope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the Arms is not covered: they mix Water with their Wine in their Hogsheads, so that for above half the year, the Wine is either dead or sour: they do not leaven their bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated, so that the Crum is as Dough, when the Crust is as hard as a Stone; In all *Italy* they boil meat first before it is roasted, and thus as indeed they make

make it tender, so it is quite tasteless, and insipid: And as for their Land-carriage, all *Lombardy* over, it's extream inconvenient; for their *Coaches* are fastned to the pearch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true, they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*, Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double Pearch, that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin, that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easy, but those are not known in *Lombardy*; and besides this, their *Caleshes* are open, so that one is exposed to the Sun and Dust in *Summer*, and to the Weather in *Winter*: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appennins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and Conveniences of Life, it appears, that the *Venetians* pursue so violently Forbidden Pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant practices in the *Broglia* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous, are suing for employments of Advantage, and those that are full of Wealth, take a sort of pleasure in crossing their pretentions, and in imbroiling matters. The Walk in which the *Nobility* tread, is left to them: for no others dare walk among them; and they change the side of the square of *Saint Mark* as the Sun and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that *Mr. Patin* gave me of *Broglia* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted, is not forced; and since they make all their parties, and manage all their intrigues in those *Walks*, I am apt to think that *Broils*, *Brovillons* and *Imbroilments* are all derived from the Agitations that are managed in those *Walks*.

As for the last created *Nobility* of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you. It is certain, that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast Expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the *Isle*, rather than have wasted their

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Treasure, and debased their *Nobility*. This last was extremely sensible to them; for as the Dignity of the rank they hold, is so much the more Eminent as it is restrained to a small number; so all the best Employments and Honours of the *State* belonging to this Body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of seventy eight Families, was in effect the sharing their Inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous, if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient *Citizens* of *Venice*, or to the *Nobility* of those *States* that they have subdued in the *Terra Firma*; for as there are many *Citizens*, who are as ancient as the *Nobility*, only their Ancestors not hapning to be of that *Council*, that assumed the *Government* about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no Infamy in creating some of them to be of the *Nobility*. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the Reduction of those *States* in the *Terra Firma*, whether it was not advisable, according to the Maxims of the Ancient *Romans*, to communicate that Dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest Way to give some contentment to those *States*, it being also a real, as well as a cheap Security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the *Republick*. It is true, some of the *Nobility* of those *States* thought they had Honour enough by their Birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Countrey of its Liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind; for they came and bought in this last sale of Honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the *Senate* found it self extremely pressed for Money, during the *War*, it was at first proposed, that some Families, to the number of five, might be *Enobled*; they offering sixty thousand *Ducats* if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were *Strangers*:
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There was but one person that opposed this in the *Senate*, so it being passed there, was presented to the *Great Council*; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one person opposed it with so much vigor, that tho the *Duke* desired him to give over his Opposition, since the Necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the *Savii* set forth with Tears the extremities to which the *State* was reduced, he still insisted, and fell upon one Conceit that turned the whole *Council*; he said, they were not sure if five Persons could be found, that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast Disgrace, to expose the offer of *Nobility* first to sale; and then to the Affront, of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold; and by this means he put by the Resolution for that time: But then another Method was taken, that was more honourable, and was of a more extended Consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the *Great Council*, setting forth his Merits towards the *Republick*, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand *Ducats* toward the service of the *State*: this was understood to be the asking to be made *Noble* at that price. *Delfino* said, he thought every man might be well judged worthy, to offer such an assistance to the Publick, and that such as brought that supply, might expect a suitable acknowledgement from the *Senate*, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much Zeal for the Publick: and this would in some sort maintain that degree, which would be too much debased, if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the Purchasers had no mind to part with their Money, and to leave the Reward to the Gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the *Nobility* so acquired was not only to descend to the Children of him that was enobled; but to his Brothers, and the whole Family to such a degree. After *Labia*, a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleasant to see in what terms

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Merchants, that came to buy this Honour set forth their Merits, which were, that they had taken care to furnish the *Republick* with such things as were necessary for its preservation. There was a sort of a *Triumvirat* formed, of a *Jew*, a *Greek*, and an *Italian*, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants: and at last brought down the price from a hundred thousand, to sixty thousand *Ducats*; and no other qualifications were required, if they had money enough: For when *Correge* said to the *Duke*, that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of Merit, the *Duke* asked him, *if he had a hundred thousand Ducats?* and when the other answered, *the Sam was ready*, the *Duke* told him, *that was a great Merit*. At last seventy eight purchased this Honour, to the great regret of *Labia*: who said, that if he had imagined, that so many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid so high for it, that it should have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchasers were Ancient and Noble Families; but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the lowest sort of them: who as they had enriched themselves by Trade, did then impoverish themselves by the acquisition of an Honour, that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher Way of living, so it hath not brought them yet in any Advantage to ballance that Loss: for they are so much despised, that they are generally excluded, when they compete with the ancient *Nobility*; tho this is done with that Discretion, that the old Families do not declare always against the new; for that would throw the new into a Faction against them, which might be a great prejudice to them; for the new, are much more numerous than the old. Another great Prejudice that the *Republick* feels by this great Promotion, is, that the Chief Families of the *Citizens* of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the Affairs of *State*, and out of whom the *Envoyes*, the *Secretaries of State*, and the *Chancellour*, that is the Head of the *Citizens*, as well as the *Duke* is the Head of the *Nobility*, are to be chosen, having purchased

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sed the Chief Honour of the *State*, there is not now a sufficient Number of capable *Citizens* left for serving the *State* in those Employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time. But if this increase of the *Nobility*, hath lessened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a Regulation made in this age, that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the *State*, when committed by any of the *Nobility*, were alwayes judged by the *Inquisitors*, and the *Council of Ten*; but all other crimes were judged by the *Council of Forty*. But in the year 1624. one of the *Nobles* was accused of *Peculat*, committed in one of their *Governments*, and the *Avogadore*, in the pleading, as he set forth his crime, called him a *Rogue* and a *Robber*: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty *Judges* present, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him; this gave great Offence; for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the Depositions of the Witnesses, and the *Avogadores* (or the *Attorney Generals*) charge, were heard by the people; so it was proposed to make a Difference between the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*; and since all Tryals before the *Forty* were publick, and the Tryals before the *Ten* were in Secret, it seemed fit to remit the *Nobility* to be tryed by the *Ten*: Some foresaw, that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the Dignity of the ancient Families (of whom the *Council of Ten* is alwayes composed) too high; therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the *Council of Forty* sent out many Orders to the Governours, it would very much lessen their Authority, if they were not to be the Judges of those, who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualify this Opposition, a Proviso was made, that reserved to the *Council of Forty* a Power to judge of the Obedience that was given to their Orders; but all other Accusations of the *Nobility* were remitted to the *Council of Ten* and the Body of the *Nobility* were so pleased with this distinction,

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distinction, that was put between them and the other *Subjects*, that they did not see, that this did really inflave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger; since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their Passions, than those whose proceedings are Publick, and so are in effect judged by the Publick, which is often a very effectual restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the *Council of Ten* being generally in the hands of the great Families; whereas those of all sorts are of the *Council of Forty*, which was the chief *Judicatory* of the State, and is much Ancienter than that of *Ten*: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still Judged by the *Forty*: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of Judging the *Nobility*, and the other *Subjects*; it had been more for their Security, to have brought their *Tryals* to this, that whereas the *Forty* judge all other Offenders with *Open Doors*, the *Nobility* should be judged the *Doors being shut*, which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it. For this power of Judging the *Nobility*, is now considered as the Right of the *Ten*; and if any man would go about to change it, the *Inquisitors* would be perhaps very quick with him as a Mover of Sedition; and be, in that case, both Judge and Party; Yet the *Inquisitors* being apprehensive of the distast, that this might breed in the Body of the *Nobility*, have made a sort of Regulation, tho it doth not amount to much; which is, that the *Nobility* shall be judged before the *Council of Ten* for atrocious Cases, such as Matters of State, the Robbing the Publick, and other enormous Crimes; but that for all other matters, they are to be judged by the *Forty*: yet the *Council of Ten* draws all Cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this *Constitution*, which is so much censured by Strangers; but is really both the greatest Glory, and the chief Security of this *Republick*, which is, the *unlimited Power*

Power of the *Inquisitors*, that extends not only to the Chief of the *Nobility*, but to the *Duke* himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe Reprimands, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion, put him to death, without being bound to give an Account of their proceedings, except to the *Council of Ten*: This is the Dread not only of all the *Subjects*, but of the whole *Nobility*, and of all that bear Office in the Republick; and makes the greatest among them tremble, and so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied, that upon some occasions, they may have been a little too sudden, particularly, in the known story of *Foscarini*; yet such unjustifiable Severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making, and preserving such an Institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this valuable Trust, so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondered at. In short, the Insolence, the Factions, the Revenges, the Necessities and Ambition, that must needs possess a great many Members of so vast a body, as is the *Nobility of Venice*; must have thrown them often into many fatal Convulsions, if it were not for the Dread in which they all stand of the Court; which hath so many Spies abroad, chiefly among the *Gondoliers*, who cannot fail to discover all the secret Commerce of *Venice*: besides the secret Advices that are thrown in at so many of those *Lions mouths*, that are in several places of *St. Mark's Palace*, within which there are *Boxes* that are under the keys of the *Inquisitors*; so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the *State*, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick, as well as severe in their Justice, that the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to this single piece of their *Constitution*. And the *Inquisitors* are persons generally so distinguished by

their Merit, who must be all of different Families, and
 their Authority lasts so short a while, that the Advan-
 tages of this vast Authority, that is lodged with them,
 are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances
 of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions
 too far, are so few, that whenever the Nobility grows
 weary of this Yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon
 the Glory and Prosperity of *Vnnice* at an end. It was
 terribly attackt not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Ferom*
Cornaro was put to death for his correspondance with
Spain; he was not near akin to the great Family of that
 name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so
 much toucht when one of its remotest branches was
 condemned of Treason, that they offered a hun-
 dred thousand *Crowns* to have saved him, and by
 consequence to have perserved the Family from that In-
 famy; but tho this was not accepted; (for he suffered,
 as he well deserved) yet it was so visible, that none of
 the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not
 at all turn to their Prejudice. But upon the first occasion
 that offerd it self after that, to quarrel with the proceed-
 ings of the *Inquisitors*, they laid hold on it, and aggra-
 vated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting
 of their Authority; but the *Great Council* was wiser than
 to toucht so sacred a part of the *Government*, so they
 retain their Power very intire, but they manage it with
 all possible Caution. A Foreigner that hath been many
 years in their service, told me, that the Stories with which
Strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was
 restd in those *Inquisitors*, were slight things, in com-
 parison of the Advantages that they found from it: and
 after eleven years spent in their service, he said, he ne-
 ver was so much as once sent for to receive a Reprimand
 from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Com-
 merce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the *Inquisi-*
tors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal
 it, or any main Circumstances of it, their Process will be
 soon dispatched. These are the most remarkable things
 that

that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several *Councils*, *Officers*, and *Judicatories*, or to the other parts of their *Government*, which are to be found in all Books; and the Forms by which they give their *Votes* by *Ballot* are so well known, that I were an abusing of your time, to enlarge my discourse concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the *Sale* of *Nobility* that is now on foot, since this last War with the *Turks*, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Money: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great Eminence there assured me, that there was a *Former General* in *Venice*, that had a Salary, and was employed by the *Inquisitors* to dispatch those, against whom a publick proceeding would make too great noise; this I could not believe, tho my Author testified, that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the employment discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where Strangers live with more freedom; and I was amazed to see so little Exactness among the Searchers of the Customhouse, for though we had a Mulletts-load of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the best and Noblest Entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the Company of Mr. de la Haye, the *French Ambassador*, who as he hath spent his whole life in publick *Embassies*, so he hath acquired so great a Knowledge of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a Pattern; and it is no wonder to see him engaged in a constant succession of publick Employments; and his Lady is so wonderful a person, that I pay them both but a very small part of what

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I owe them, in this Acknowledgment, which I judge my self bound to make of their extraordinary Civilities to me: and indeed, without the Advantage of such a Rendezvous as I had there, a fortnights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence to *Rovigo*, which is but a small Town, and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the *Republick* from the *Ferrarese*, which is now the *Popes Country*; and here one sees what a difference a good and a bad Government makes in a Country; for tho the soil is the same on both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its best Towns, while they had Princes of their own, who for a course of some Ages were Princes of such Eminent Vertue, and of so Heroical a Nobleness, that they were really the Fathers of their Country; nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their Grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its extent shews what it was about an age ago, and is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of Streets without Inhabitants; and the Poverty of the Place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean, and poorly adorned; for the superstition of *Italy* is so ravenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measure of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The Superstition, or Vanity of this Age, is so much beyond that of the past (tho the contrary to this is commonly believed) that all the vast Buildings of great Churches

ches or rich *Convents*, and the surprising Wealth that appears in them on Festival dayes, are the Donatives of the present Age, so that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up, who fancy, that *Superstition is at a stand; not in a Decay*; unless it be acknowledged, that the craft of the *Priests* hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of *Purgatory*, and *Indulgences* were become less effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better inlightned; and that is, to ingage men to an Emulation and a Vanity in Enriching their *Churches*, as much as other *Italians* have in the enriching their *Palaces*; so that as they have a Pleasure as well as Vanity, in seeing so much dead wealth in their houses, they have translated the same humour to their *Churches*; and the vanity of the present Age, that believes little of nothing of those contrivances, of *Purgatory*, or the like, produceth the same, if not greater effects, in the building and enriching their *Churches*. and so carries in Expence and Prodigality, from the superstition of the former Ages, that believed every thing. But to returne

Ferrara, I could not but ask all I saw, how it came, that so rich a soil was so strangely abandoned? some said, the Air was become so unhealthy, that those who live in it were very short lived; but it is well known, that fourscore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air occasioned by the want of Inhabitants; for there are being people to drain the ground, and to keep the Ditch clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same manner, as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited *Champaign* of *Rome*; so that the ill Air is the effect, rather than the cause, of the dispeopling of the *Popes Dominions*. The true cause is the Severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations, by which the *Nephews* of several *Popes*, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many more. And this appears manifestly, by the different State as well as the Constitution

of Bologna, which is full of people that abound in *Bologna*. Wealth; and as the Soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to the *Papedom* upon a Capitulation, by which there are many Privileges reserved to it: Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them; but there are no confiscations of Estates; and tho the Authority, in criminal matters, belongs to the *Pope*, and is managed by a *Legate* and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the *State*: And by this Regulation it is, that as the Riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger, it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the Center of a Sovereignty, where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the *Popes* fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from this place of Liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute, but that are by those means almost quite abandoned: for the greatness of a *Prince* or *State* rising from the numbers of the *Subjects*, those Maxims that retain the *Subjects*, and that draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest Maxims for advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much scorn observe the folly of some *Frenchmen*, who made use of this Argument to shew the Greatness of their Nation, that one found many *Frenchmen* in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*; but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be drawn from this observation. It is certain, that few leave their Country, and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home, that they cannot well live among their Friends and kindred; so that a mild Government drives out no swarms; whereas it is the sure mark of a severe Government that weakens it self, when many of the *Subjects* find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek

that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if Impolitions and other Severities, did not force them to change their Habitations.

But to return to the Wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every Corner of the Town, and all round it, tho' the situation is not very favourable; for it lyes at the foot of the *Appenins*, on the North-side, and is extream cold in Winter. The Houses are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town over, covered under *Piazza's*; but the walks here are both higher and larger than any were else, there are many Noble *Palaces* all over the Town; and the *Churches* and *Convents* are incredibly rich: within the Town, the richest are the *Dominicans*, which is the chief House of the Order, where their Founders Body is laid in one of the best Chappels of *Italy*: and next to them are the *Franciscans*, the *Servites*, the *Jesuites*, and the *Cannons Regular* at *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a Scrowl of the *Hebrew Bible*, which tho' it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: and they were much believe by some *Jews*, that hath no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezra's* own hand; and this hath past long for current: but the Manuscript is only a fine Copy, like those that the *Jews* use in their *Synagogues*, that may be perhaps three or four hundred Years old: that part of it on which I cast my eye, was the *Book of Esther*, so by the bulk of the Scrowl, I judged it to be the collection of those small books of the *Old Testament* that the *Jews* set after the *Law*; but those of the House fancy they have a great treasure in it, and perhaps such *Jews* as have seen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and so suffer them to go on in their Error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petroni's*, and there one sees the curious and exact *Meridional-line*, which the rare Astronomer *Cassini* laid along a great part of the Pavement in a brass Circle: it marks the true point of midday from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best Performances that perhaps the World ever saw. In the great square

square before the Church, on the one side of which is the
Loggia Palace, among other Statues one surprized me
 much, it was *Pope Joans*, which is so named by the peo-
 ple of the Town; it is true, the learned men say. it is
 the Statue of *Pope Nicolas* the IV. who had indeed a
 youthly and womanish face. But as I looked at this
 Statue very attentively, through a little prospect that I
 carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of
 a young Woman, and was very unlike that of *Pope*
Nicolas the IV. which is in *St. Maria Maggiore* at
Rome: For the Statue of that *Pope*, tho it hath no beard,
 yet hath an age in it, that is very much different from the
 Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue;
 for I do not believe that Story at all; and I my self saw in
 England a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one
 of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did
 not seem to be written long after the Authors time,
 in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added
 on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above
Bologna stands the Monastery of *St. Michael in*
Bosco, which hath a most charming scituation and
 prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in
Italy; it hath many Courts, and one that is
 Cloistered, and is Octangular; which is so nobly
 painted in *Fresco*, that it is great pity to see such
 work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the
 famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decayed:
 The Dormitory is very Magnificent; the Chappell is little,
 but very fine; and the Stalls are richly carved. On the
 other side of *Bologna*, in the Bottom, the *Carthusians*
 have also a very rich Monastery: Four miles from *Bo-*
logna there is a *Madona* of *Saint Lukes*; and because many
 go thither in great Devotion, there is a *Portico* Build-
 ing, which is already carried on almost half way; It is
 walled towards the North, but stands on Pillars to the
 South, and is about twelve foot broad, and fifteen
 foot high; it is carried on very vigorously; for in eight or
 ten years the half is built, so that in a little time, the whole

will very probably be finished; and this may prove the beginning of many such like *Portico's* in *Italy*; for things of this kind want only a beginning, and when they are once set on foot, they do quickly spread themselves in a Country that is so intirely subdued by *Superstition*, and the Artifices of their *Priests*. In *Bologna* they reckon there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of the chief *Glories* of this place; for the famous *Malphigius* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a *Play* there, but the *Passy* was so bad, the *Farces* so rude, and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little amazed to see the Company express so great a Satisfaction in that which would have been his'd off the stage either in *England* or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight miles in a Plain, and then we ingage

Appennin into that range of Hills that carry the name of *Appennin*, tho that is strictly given only to one that is the highest. All the way to *Florence* this track of Hills continues, tho there are several bottoms, and some considerable little Towns in them, but all is up hill and down-hill, and *Florence* it self, is just at the bottom of the last Hill. The high-ways all along these Hills are kept in so very good case, that in few of the best inhabited Countrys doth one find the High-ways so well maintained, as in those forsaken Mountains: but this is so great a Passage, that all that are concerned in it, find their account, in the expense they lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, tho in a

Prato: little bottom, in the midst of a Hill, stands *Pratolino*, one of the great *Dukes Palaces*, where the retreat in Summer must be very agreeable; for the Air of those Mountains is extream thin and pure. The *Gardens* in *Italy* are made at a great cost; the *Statues* and *Fountains* are very rich and noble; the Grounds are well laid out; and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no *Carvel*, to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in *England*; so the constant greenness of the Grass doth so much please them, that they, preferring the sight to the smell, have their *Gardens* so high fenced by plants made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them.

them; they also lay their walks so between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a *Garden at Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many *Gardens in Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a course of Water round about the Walls; about a foot from the ground is a channel of stone, that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such plants, as in dry season, needed watering, and a Cock set the Water a running in this course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. Florence is a beautiful and noble Town, *Florence.* full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman Highways*, with great Stone, bigger than our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed, in their joynings to one another, that horses find fastning enough to their feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable Objects. I will not entertain you with a description of the great Dukes Palace and Gardens, or of the old Palace, and the Gallery that joyns to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other Curiosities, that must needs amaze every one that sees them: the Plate, and in particular, the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things, that they would require a very copious description, if that had not been done so often, that it were to very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these subjects, than you will find in the common *Itinerarys* of all Travellers. The great Dome is a magnificent building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The Cupulo, is after *St. Peters*, the greatest and highest that I saw in Italy; it is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass; and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very

singular, as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its Beauty, lessened it very much in my thoughts: for the Walls that are all of Marble, being of white and black Marble, laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a Livery, and had not that air of Nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The *Baptistery*, that stands before it, was a Noble *Heathen Temple*; its *Gates* of brass, are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many *Histories* so well represented in *Bas Reliefs* in them, with so much Exactness, the Work is so natural, and yet so fine, that a curious man could find entertainment for many dayes, if he would examine the three *Gates* of this Temple with a critical exactness. The *Annunciata*, *St. Marks*, *St. Croce*, and *St. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches; but the Church and Chappel of *S. Laurence* exceeds them all, as much in the Riches within, as it is inferiour to them in the outside, which is quite flea'd, (if I may so speak) but on design to give it a rich out-side of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lye deposited: till the famous Chappel is finished, But I was much scandalized to see Statues with Nudities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a description of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without doubt, the richest piece of building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that tho there are alwayes many at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are imployed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the *Virgin's*, made by *Michael Angelo*, which represents her grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most life in all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous *Library*, that belongs to this *Convent*, took up more of my time than all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are *Greek*, that were gathered together by *Pope Clement* the VII and given

to his Country: there are very few Printed Books mixed with them; and those Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as *Manuscripts*. I saw some of *Virgil's Poems* in old Capitals. There is a *Manuscript*, in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different hand had writ, that he had compared those *Manuscripts*, and he adds a date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred Years ago. I found some diphthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me; for I thought that way of writing them had not been so ancient: but that which pleased me most was, that the *Library-keeper* assured me, that one had lately found the famous *Epistle of St. Chrysostome to Cesarius in Greek*, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the *Manuscripts* of that *Fathers Books*; of which they have a great many. He thought he remembered well the place where the Book stood; so we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: he promised to look it out for me, if I came back that way: But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true, the famous *Magliabecchi*, who is the *Great Dukes Library-keeper*, and is a person of most wonderful Civility, and full of Candor, as well as he is learned beyond imagination, assured me, that this could be no other than a mistake of the *Library-keepers*; he said, such a discovery could not have been made, without making so much noise; that he must have heard of it. He added, there was not one man in *Florence*, that either understood *Greek*, or that examined *Manuscripts*; so that he assured me, I could not build on what an ignorant *Library-keeper* had told me: So I set down this matter as I found it, without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was; for they do not reckon, that there are above fifty thousand souls in it: and the other *States*, that were once great *Republicks*, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their Liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing: It is certain, that all

three together, are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Legorn* is full of people; and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot but wonder to find a *Country*, that hath been a Scene of so much Action, and so many Wars, now so forsaken, and so poor, and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it; and in other places, where there are more people, they look so poor, and their Houses are such miserable Ruins, that it is scarce accountable, how there should be so much Poverty in so rich a *Country*, which is all over full of Beggars: and here the stile of Begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls that were in *Purgatory*; and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy*, through which I passed. In short; the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the *Principalities of Italy*, but chiefly of the *Popes Dominions*, which are more abandoned than any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the Severity of the Government; and the great Decay of Trade: For the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in *Silk*, the vast Importation of *Silks* that the *East-India Companies* bring into *Europe*, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this Manufacture: Yet this is not the chief Cause of the dispeopling of those rich *Countrys*; the Severity of the Taxes is the true Reason: notwithstanding all that Decay of Trade, the Taxes are still kept up. Beside this, the vast Wealth of the *Convents*, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their Ease, but in great plenty and Luxury, makes many forsake all sort of Industry, and seek for a retreat in one of those Seats of Pleasure; so that the People do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those, whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller, to see not only the *Venetian Territory*, which is indeed a rich Country, but

the

the *Bailiages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coast of *Genoa* so full of People, when *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony*, and the *Kingdom of Naples*, have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa*, there is for many miles as it were a constant tract of *Towns* and *Villages*, and all those are well peopled, tho they have scarce any Soil at all, lying under the *Mountains*, that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun; and that they lie upon a boistrous *Sea*; that is almost alwayes in a Storm, and that affords very few fish: and yet the Gentleness of the *Government* draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of Wealth, that *Money* goes at two per cent. But on the other hand, to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of Man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told, that the worst people of all *Italy* are the *Genoeses*, and the most generally corrupted in their *Morals*, as to all sorts of Vice; so that tho a severe *Government* and *Slavery*, are contrary to the nature of man, and to human Society, to *Justice* and *Equity*, and to that essential Equality that Nature hath made among men; yet on the other hand, all men cannot bear that Ease and Liberty that become the Human Nature. The *superstition* of *Italy*, and the great wast of Wealth that one sees in their *Churches*, particularly those *Prodigious* Masses of *Plate*, with which their *Altars* are covered on Holydays, doth also sink their *Trade* extreamly; for Silver, being in Commerce, what blood is in the body, when so much of that is dead, and circulates no more; it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of Silver, occasions a great Deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one remark, that I made in the last Hill of the *Appenins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big *Cypresses* any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that Tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and there the Winters are severe. All the

ways in *Tuscany* are very rugged, except on the side of the *Arno*. But the uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great Care that is had of the Highways, which are all in very good case: The *Inns* are wretched; and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all *Italy*, when once one hath passed the *Appennins*; for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the Pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the Inconveniences that one meets in every Stage through which he passes. I am

S I R,

Yours.

THI

THE FOURTH LETTER.

From Rome, the 8th of December, 1685.

I Am now in the last stage of my *Voyage over Italy*; for since my last from *Florence*, I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*; and have now satisfied my Curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to *Civita vecchia*, and from thence by *Sea* to *Marseilles*; and so avoid an unpleasant Winters Journey over the *Alps*. It is true; I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts: but tho I am told, these deserve well the pains of the Journey; yet when one rises from a great meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his appetite: So I confess freely, that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my stomach that way, that the Curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me; and indeed, these that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold Impression.

All the way from *Florence*, through the *Great Dukes* *Pope's* Country, looked so sad, that I concluded, it must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*: but indeed, I changed my note when I came into the *Popes Territories*, at *Pont Cenisino*, where there was a rich bottom, all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle, But as I passed from *M. Fiascone* to *Viterbo*, this appeared yet more amazing; for a vast *Champaign Country* lay almost

quite deserted. And that wide *Town*, which is of so great a compass, hath yet so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the people in the ordinary *Towns* in *Scotland*, and in its worst Places, make a better appearance. When I was within a days Journey of *Rome*, I fancied that the Neighbourhood of so great a *City* must mend the matter; but I was much disappointed; for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweetly, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattel upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear: The surprize that this gave me, increased upon me as I went out of *Rome* on its other side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita Vecchia*; for that vast and rich Champian Country, that runs all along to *Terracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as ones eye can carry one, there is often not so much as a house to be seen; but on the Hills, that are on the North-side of this *Valley*: and by this dispeopling of the Country, the Air is now become so unwholesome, that it is not safe to be a night in it all the Summer long; for the Water, that lyes upon many places, not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces so many noisom Steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itself; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the *Mountains*, the Air would be intolerable: When one sees all this large, but wast Country, from the Hill of *Marino*, twelve miles beyond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a word, it is the rigour of the *Government* that hath driven away the Inhabitants; and their being driven away, hath now reduced it to such a pass; that it is hardly possible to repeople it: for such as would come to drain and cultivate it, must run a great hazard, and few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no other Reward of their Industry, but an Uneasy *Government*. It is the greatest Solicitsm in *Government* for the Prince to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute*; for an *Hereditary Prince*

induced to consider his Posterity, and to maintain his people, so that those that come after him may still support the rank which they hold in the World: But an *Elective Prince* hath nothing of that in his eye, unless he hath a pitch of generosity, which is not ordinary among men, and least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for their Families, which is not known in other places: and thus a *Pope*, who comes in late to this Dignity, which by consequence he cannot hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn to those Councils, by which his Family may make all the Hay they can during this Sun-shine: And tho' anciently the *Cardinals* were a check upon the *Pope*, and a sort of a *Council*, without whom he could do nothing even in *Temporals*; yet now they have quite lost that; and they have no other share in affairs, than that to which the *Pope* thinks fit to admit them; so that he is the most absolute *Prince* in *Europe*. It is true, as to *Spirituals*, they retain still a large share, so that in *Censures* and *Definitions* the *Pope* can do nothing regularly without their concurrence; tho' it is certain, that they have not so good a *Title* to pretend to that, as to a share in the *Temporal Principality*. For if the *Pope* derives any thing from *Saint Peter*, all that is singly in himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best, since the *Infallibility*, according to their pretensions, rests singly in him; yet because there was not so much to be got by acting Arbitrary in those matters, and a Summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the grounds on which it is built; therefore the *Popes* have let the *Cardinals* retain still a share in this *Supremacy* over the *Church*, tho' they have no claim to it, neither by any *Divine* nor *Ecclesiastical Warrants*: But as for the endowments of the *See of Rome*, to which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the *Chapter* of that *See*; there is so much to be got by this, that the *Popes* have ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is, that the *Government* of this *Principality* is very unsteady. Sometimes the *Popes Family* are

are extremely glorious, and magnificent; at others times, they think of nothing but of establishing their House. Sometimes the *Pope* is a Man offense himself; Sometimes he is quite sunk, and as the last *Pope* was, he becomes a Child again through old age: Sometimes he hath a particular Stiffness of Temper, with a great Slowness of Understanding, and an insatiable desire of heaping up Wealth, which is the Character of *him* that now reigns. By this diversity, which appears eminently in every new *Pontificate*, that commonly avoids those Excesses that made the former reign odious, the *Councils* of the *Popedom* are weak and disjoyned. But if this is sensible to all *Europe*, with relation to the general concern of that Body, it is much more visible in the *Principality* it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this *Age* a succession of four ravenous reigns; and tho there was a short Interruption in the Reign of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberins*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Ghigi's*, did not enrich it self; and yet it disordered the *Revenue*, by the vast Magnificence in which he reigned, more in twenty nine *Months* time, than any other had done in so many years. The *Altieri* did, in a most scandalous manner, raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest *Palaces* in *Rome*. He that reigns now, doth not indeed raise his *Family* avowedly, but he doth not ease the People of their *Taxes*: and as there is no Magnificence in his *Court*, nor any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*; so the many vacant *Caps*, occasion many empty *Palaces*: and by this means, there is so little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not possible for the People to live and pay the *Taxes*, which hath driven, as is believed, almost a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this *Pontificate*. And as the preemption of the *Corn* makes, that there is no profit made by the Owners, out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the *Pope*, so there are no ways left here of employing ones *Money* to any considerable Advantage: For the publick *Banks*, which are all in the

Popes hand, do not pay in effect *three per cent*, tho they pretend to give *four per cent* of interest: The settlement is indeed *four per cent*, and this was thought so great an advantage, that *Actions* on the *Popes Bank* were bought at a *hundred and sixteen the hundred*. But this *Pope* broke through all this, and declared, he would give all Men their *Mony* again, unless they would pay him *thirty per cent* for the continuing of this Interest; and thus for a *hundred Crowns* Principal, one not only paid at first one hundred and sixteen: but afterwards thirty: in all one hundred six and forty for the hundred, which is almost the half lost: For whensoever the *Pope* will pay them back their *Mony*, all the rest is lost: And while I am here, there is a report, that the *Pope* is treating with the *Genoeses* for *Mony* at *two per cent*; and if he gets it on those terms, then he will pay his Debts: and the Subjects, that have put in *Mony* in this Bank, will, by this means, lose six and forty *per cent*, which is almost the half of their Stock. A man of quality at *Rome*, and an eminent *Church-man*, who took me likewise for one of their *Clergy*, because I wore the *Habit* of a *Church-man*, said, that it was a horrible Scandal to the whole Christian World, and made one doubt of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, to see more Oppression and Cruelty in their *Territory*, than was to be found even in *Turky*; tho it being in the Hands of *Christ's Vicar*, one should expect to find there the pattern of a mild and gentle *Government*: and how (said he) can a Man expect to find his *Religion* here, where the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known. And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman Prince* made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their Necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose *Dominions* look so big in the *Map*, are now brought so low; and if they had kept still the possession they once had of the *United Netherlands*, they would signify no more towards their preservation, than

than their other *Provinces* did; which, by their unskilful conduct, they have both dispeopled and exhausted. Whereas by their losing those *Seven Provinces*, those *States* have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn so much *Wealth*, and such numbers of *People* together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those *Provinces* in the last; and those *States*, that if they had remained subject to *Spain*, would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably, by being *Allies*, than they could have done, if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Marquis Indeed, if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such *Viceroy*s, and *Governours*, as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The *Marquis of Carpy*, in his youth intended to have taken so severe a Revenge of an Injury, that he thought the late *King of Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gun-powder, when he was in the *Council-Chamber*; but that Crime was discoloured in time, and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of *Don Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several years *Ambassador at Rome*: He is now *Viceroy of Naples*, and is the only *Governour* of all the Places through which I Passed, that is, without exception, beloved and esteemed by all sorts of *People*; for during the few years of his *Ministry*, he hath redressed such abuses that seemed past cure, and that required an Age to correct them: He hath repressed the Insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters: for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they give cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*: He hath taken the Pay of the Souldiers so immediately into his own care, that they who before his coming, were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the Streets of *Naples*

in day light, are now exactly payed, well disciplined, and so decently cloathed, that it is a pleasure to see them: He examines their Musters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false lists: He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true Exactness: And whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loave out of the several places of the Markets, and weighed them himself; and by some severe Punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just Regulation: He hath also brought the *Courts of Judicature*, that were thought generally very corrupt, to Reputation again; and it is believed, he hath Spies to watch in case the trade of Bribes is found to be still going on: He hath fortified the *Pallace*, which was before his time so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it, But the two things, that raise his reputation most, are his Extirpating of the *Banditi*, and the Regulation of the *Coin*, which he hath taken in hand. It is well enough known, what a Plague the *Banditi* have been to the Kingdom; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Country, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Souldiers, if they had set on them: These travelled about seeking for spoil all the Summer long; but in Winter they were harboured by some of the *Neapolitan Barrons*, who gave them Quarters; and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their Revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a *Council* that had the Care of the reducing the *Banditi* committed to them, who as they caught some few, and hanged them, so they fined such *Barons* as gave them harbour; and it was believed, that those Fines, amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand *Crowns* a year: And thus the disease went on; only now and then there was a little Blood let, which never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But when the present *Viceroy* entred upon the Government, he

he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditi*; and he first let all the *Barons* understand, that if they harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save them, but that he would proceed against them with the utmost severity; and by this means the *Banditi* could find no Winter Quarters: So they betook themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and resolved to make good the Passes, and to accommodate themselves the best they could amidst the Mountains. The *Viceroy* sent a great body against them, but they defended themselves for sometime vigorously, and in one sally they killed five hundred men: but at last, seeing that they were like to be hard prest, and that the *Viceroy* intended to come against them in Person, they accepted of the terms that he offered them, which was, a pardon for what was past, both as to life and Gallies, and six pence a day for their entertainment in Prison during life, or the *Viceroy's* pleasure; and so they rendred themselves. They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then, as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up and down to serve in *Garrisons*. And thus, beyond all mens expectation, he finished this matter in a very few months; and the Kingdom of *Naples*, that hath been so long a scene of Pillage and Robbery, is now so much changed, that in no place of *Europe* do the Subjects enjoy a more entire Security. As for the *Coin*, it, as all the other *Spanish Mony*, is so subject to Clipping, that the whole mony of *Naples* is now light, and far below the true value; so the *Viceroy* hath resolved to redress this: he considers, that the crying down of Mony, that passeth upon the publick Credit, is a robbing of those in whose hands the mony happens to be, when such Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear his share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some *Taxes* on the whole Kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in some *Plate* to be coyned: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends

intends to call in all the old Mony, and to give out new Mony for it. Thus doth this *Viceroy* set such a pattern to the other *Ministers* of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their affairs would be soon altered.

The *Kingdom of Naples* is the richest part of all *Italy*; ^{Naples.} for the very *Mountains*, that are near the half of the Soil, are fruitful, and produce either *Wine* or *Oil* in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great *Corn* Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuites* are the *Proprietors* of near the half of *Apulia*; and they treat their *Tenants* with the same rigour that the *Barons* of this *Kingdom* do generally use towards their *Farmers*: for the *Commons* here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they dye of hunger, even amidst the great plenty of their best years; for the *Corn* is exported to *Spain*: but neither the *Spaniards* nor the *Neapolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own *Merchants* or *Carriers*, so that the *English* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The *Oil* of this *Kingdom* is still a vast Trade, and the *Manufacture* of the *Wool* and *Soap* of *England*, consumes yearly some thousands of *Tuns*. The *silk Trade* is so low, that it only serves themselves, but the exportation is inconsiderable: the Sloth and Laziness of this people renders them incapable of making those Advantages of so rich a soil, that a more industrious sort of people would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, and doing nothing; and tho in some big towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one *Inn*, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it, is so bad, that our *Footmen* in *England* would make a grievous Outcry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: the *Wine* is intolerable, the Bread ill Baked, no *Victuals*, except *Pidgeons*, and the *Oil* is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*; he must resolve to indure a good deal of Misery in the four days journey that is between those two places. And this is what a Traveller, that

that sees the Riches of the soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not hands enough for their soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their soil produce so little; that in the midst of all that abundance, that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of Europe. But beside this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the hands of the *Churchmen*, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me, that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict survey, it would be found, that the *Churchmen* had four parts of the five: which he made out thus, they have in *Soil* above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in *Tithes*, and Gifts, and *Legacies*, they have one and a half more: for no man dies without leaving a considerable Legacy to some *Church* or some *Convent*. The Wealth that one sees in the *City of Naples* alone, passeth imagination; there are four and twenty *Houses* of the Order of the *Dominicans*, of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, several of the *Jesuites*; besides the *Convents*, of the *Olivetans*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*; and above all, for situation and riches, the *Carthusians*, on the top of the Hill that lieth over the *Town*. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious: It is the greatest *Hospital* in the World; the *Revenue* is said to be four hundred thousand *Crowns* a year: the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for their Sick observed in their Galleries, which was considerable, that every Bed stood as in an *Alcove*, and had a Wall on both sides, separating it from the Beds on both hands, and as much void space of both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it self took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for they talk of many thousands that are not seen, but are at Nurse: a great part of the wealth of this *House* goeth to the enriching their *Church*, which will be all over within crusted with laying

layings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of
 colours: The *Plate* that is in the *Treasury* here and in the
Dome, (which is but a mean building, because it is
 ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Trea-
 sure) and in a great many other *Churches*, are so prodi-
 gious, that upon the modestest estimate, the *Plate* of the
Churches of Naples amounts to eight millions of *Crowns*.
 The new *Church* of the *Jesuites*, that of the *Apostles*, and
 that of *S. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the gilding and
 painting that is on the *Roofs* of those *Churches* have cost
 millions: And as there are about a hundred *Convents* in
Naples, so every one of these, if it were in another place,
 would be thought well worth seeing; tho the riches of the
 greater *Convents* here, make many of them to be less visi-
 ted. Every year there is a new *Governour* of the *Annu-
 ia*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand
Crowns; and to make some Compensation when he goeth
 out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of *Plate* to the House,
 a *Statue* for a Saint in *Silver*, or some *Coloss* of a *Candle-
 stick*; for several of those pieces of plate are said to be
 worth ten thousand *Crowns*; and thus all the *Silver* of *Na-
 ples* becomes dead and useless: The *Jesuites* are great
 Merchants here; their *Wine-Cellar* is a vast Vault, and
 holds above a thousand *Hogsheads*, and the best *Wine* of
Naples is sold by them; yet they do no retail it out so scan-
 dalously as the *Minims* do; who live on the great square
 before the *Viceroy's Palace*, and sell out their *Wine* by re-
 tail: they pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good *Wine*,
 and are in the best Place of the *Town* for this retail. It is
 true, the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the Pro-
 fits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in col-
 der Countries; for here men go only in for a draught in
 the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the *House*
 groweth extream rich, and hath one of the finest *Chap-
 els* that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbe-
 coming men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order.
 The *Convents* have a very particular priviledge in this
 Town; for they may buy all the Houses that ly on either
 side,

side, till the first street that discontinueth the House, and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a *Convent*, by this means they may come to buy in the whole Town: And the progress that the Wealth of the *Clergy* makes in this *Kingdom* is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole *Kingdom*. It is an amazing thing to see so profound an ignorance, as reign among the *Clergy*, prevail so effectually; for tho' all the Secular persons here, speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the Spirits of the People. The Women are infinitely Superstitious, and give their husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great presents to the *Church*. It is true, there are *Societies* of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*: The *Greek Learning* begins to flourish there, and the *new Philosophy* is much studied; and there is an *Assembly* that is held in *D. Joseph Vallerani's* Library (where there is a vast Collection of well chosen Books) composed of Men that have a right taste of true Learning and good Sense: They are ill looked on by the *Clergy*, and represented as a set of *Atheists*, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius's* School: But I found no such thing among them; for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them: There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive Men of the Assembly: There is also a Grandchild of the *Great Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few *Churchmen* come into the attempt for the reviving of Learning among them: On the contrary, it is plain, that they dread it above all things. Only one Eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Archdeacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them: he was once of the *Jesuits Order*, but left it; and as that alone served to give a good Character of him to me, so upon long conversation with him, I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some

Physicians in Naples are brought under the Scandal of *Atheism*; and it is certain, that in *Italy*, men of searching understandings, who have no other Idea of the *Christian Religion*, but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross, without distinction, and finding such notorious Cheats as appear in many parts of their *Religion*, are upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The Preaching of the *Monks* in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon all that he saw, to follow him to a place where a *Mountebank* was selling his *Medicines*, near whom he took his Room, and entertained the people with a sort of a *Farce*, till the *Mountebank* got him to give over; fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any reputation for learning among the *Jesuites*: I was told, they had not men capable to teach their *Schools*; and that they were forced to hire Strangers: The Order of the *Oratory* hath not that reputation in *Italy*, that it hath gained in *France*; and the little Learning that is among the *Clergy* in *Naples*, is among some few *Secular Priests*.

The new Method of *Molino's* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed, he hath above twenty thousand Followers in this City: And since this hath made some noise in the World, and yet is generally but little understood, I will give you some account of him: He is a *Spanish Priest*, that seems to be but an ordinary *Divine*, and is certainly a very ill Reasoner, when he undertakes to prove his Opinions: He hath writ a Book, which is intituled, *il Guida Spirituale*, which is a short abstract of the *Mystical Divinity*; the Substance of the whole is reduced to this, That in our Prayers, and other Devotions, the best Methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an Act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God: and then to sink into a silence and cessation of new Acts, and to let God act upon

us, and so to follow his Conduct. This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new Acts, and different forms of Devotion; and he makes small Account of corporal Austerities, and reduces all the Exercises of Religion to this simplicity of Mind: He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great Reformation of mens Minds and Manners; He hath many Priests in Italy, but chiefly in Naples, that dispose those who confess themselves to them, to follow his Method. The Jesuites have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing, that it may much weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the Minds of People, that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to Enthusiasms: they also pretend, that his conduct is Factious and Seditious; that it may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith in some places of his Book, That the Mind may rise up to such a Simplicity in its Acts, that it may rise in some of its Devotions to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ, they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the Doctrine of Christ's Humanity; tho' it is plain, that he speaks only, of the purity of some single Acts: Upon all those heads they have set themselves much against Molinas; and they have also pretended, that some of his Disciples have infused into their Penitents, That they may go and communicate as they find themselves disposed, without going first to Confession; which thought weakened much the yoke, by which the Priests subdue the Consciences of the People to their Conduct. Yet he was much supported both in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily; he had also many Friends and Followers in Rome. So the Jesuites, as a Provincial of the Order shewed me, finding they could not ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that is now extremely in the interests of their Order, to interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger of such Innovations. It is certain, the Pope understands the matter very little, and that he is

with a great opinion of *Melino's* Sanctify; yet upon the Complaints of some Cardinals, that seconded the Will of that King, he and some of his Followers were clapt in the *Inquisition*, where they have been now for some Months, but they are still well used, which is believed to flow from the good opinion that the *Pope* hath of him, who saith still, that tho he may have erred, yet he is certainly a good man: Upon this Imprisonment, *Agrippa* said a pleasant thing; in one week, one man had been condemned to the Gallies for *some what he hath said*, another hath been hanged for *some what he had writ*, and *Melino* was clapt in prison, whose Doctrine consisted chiefly in this, that men ought to bring their minds to a state of inward quietness, from which the name of *Quiets* was given to all his followers: The *Pasquinade* upon this, was, *Si parliamo, in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all' Sant' Officio*, &c. the bissoneture: If we speak, we are sent to the Gallies; if we write, we are hanged; if we stand quiet, we are clapt in the *Inquisition*: what must we do then? Yet his Followers at *Naples* are not daunted, but they believe, he will come out of this Tryal victorious.

The City of *Naples*, as it is the best situated, and in the best Climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of Europe; and if it is not above half as big as *Paris* or *Rome*, yet it hath much more beauty than either of them: The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is great and Noble, the Stones being generally above a foot square, and it is full of Palaces, and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh, and in great plenty; the Wine is the best of Europe; and both the Fish and Flesh is extream good: it is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes, both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The *Viceroy's Palace* is no extraordinary building, only the Stair-case is great: But it is now very richly furnished within, in Pictures and Statues: There are in it some Statues of the Egyptian Deities of

Touchstone, that are of great value: There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an Ancient Roman Portico that is very Noble before *Saint Pauls Church*. But without the City near the Church and Hospital of *Saint Gennaro*, that is without the Gates, are the Noble *Catacombs*; which because they were beyond any thing I saw in *Italy*, and to which the *Catacombs* of *Rome* are not to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them, in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long *Galleries* cut out of the Rock: there are three Stories of them one above another, as was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passages only. These *Galleries* are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high: so that they are Noble and spacious places, and not little and narrow as the *Catacombs* at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe, that these *Catacombs* of *Naples* went into the Rock near a mile long, but for that I have it only by report: Yet that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzos*, and so they may have been the burial places of the Town on that Bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found *Galleries* going on all hands without end, and whereas in the Roman *Catacombs* there are not above three or four rows of *Niches*, that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid, here there are generally six or seven rows of those *Niches*, and they are both larger and higher; some *Niches* are for *Childrens* Bodies; and in many places there are in the Floors, as it were great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the bones of the dead as they dried in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these holes, that looked like the bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the *Niches* when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems they were

numerous unwholesome and stinking places, where
 some thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any
 thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious
 a smell: For the Niches shew plainly, that the Bo-
 dies were laid in them only wrapped in the dead Cloaths,
 they being too low for Coffins. In some places of
 the Rock there is as it were a little Chapel hewn
 in the Rock, that goes off from the common
 Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but
 I saw no marks of any Wall, that shut in such places,
 and am apt to think, these might be burying places ap-
 propriated to particular Families. There is in some places
 on the Walls and Arch, Old *Mosaic Work*, and some
 Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the Manner and
 Characters are *Gothick*; which made me conclude, that
 this might have been done by the *Normans*, about six hun-
 dred years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*: In some
 places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other
 places. The freshness of the Colours, shew these could
 not have been done while this place was employed for bury-
 ing; for the Streams and Rottenness of the air, occa-
 sioned by so much Corruption, must have dissolved both
 Plaster and Colours. In one place, there is a man pain-
 ted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his head:
 there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his
 head *Laud* is written: and this is repeated in another place
 right over against it. In another place I found a Cross
 painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters
 G. X. Q. and in the lower part N. J. K. A. are pain-
 ted: A learned *Antiquary*, that went with me, agreed
 with me, that the manner of the Painting and Charac-
 ters did not seem to be above six hundred years old: but neither
 of us knew what to make of these Letters. The lower
 seemed to relate to the last word of the *Vision*, which is
 said that *Constantine* saw with the cross that appeared to
 him: But tho the first two Letters might be for *Iesus*, it
 being ordinary in old Coyns and Inscriptions to put a C.
 for an S. and X. stands for *Christ*, yet we knew not what

to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Thron*; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *Sta. Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age: In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it, the uppermost had no Inscription; those below it, had their Inscriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agnes*, and *S. Margareta*, these Letters are clearly modern; besides that, *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names: and the addition of *ta* a little above the *S.* were manifest evidences, that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stayed not above an hour in the *Catacombs*. This made me reflect more particularly on the *Catacombs of Rome*, than I had done; I could image no reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*; and could give myself no other account of the matter, but that it being a maxim to keep up the reputation of the *Roman Catacombs*, as the *Repositories* of the *Reliques* of the primitive *Christians*, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought, that there were *Catacombs* far beyond them in all respects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the primitive *Christians*; and indeed, nothing seems more evident, than that these were the common *Burying Places* of the ancient *Heathens*. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the twelve Tables, and such are the *Catacombs of Rome* that I saw, which were those of *S. Agnes* and *S. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho in effect they run under it; for in those dayes, when they had not the use of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works, when they were once so far engaged under ground, as to lose themselves. It is a vain

imag-

imagination to think, that the *Christians*, in the primi-
 tive times, were able to carry on such a work, for as this
 prodigious digging into such *Rocks*, must have been a very
 toilsome thing by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have
 been brought out, and by the vast number of Hands that
 must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think,
 that they could hold their *Assemblies* amidst the annoyance
 of so much corruption. I found the Steams so strong,
 that tho' I am as little subject to Vapours as most men,
 yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was
 not near an hour, a Confusion, and as it were a boyling
 heavy Head, that disordered me extremely; and if there
 was so much *stagnating Air* there, this must have been
 insupportable in a more eminent and insufferable manner while
 there were vast numbers of bodies rotting in those *Niches*.
 Besides this improbability, that presents it self from
 the nature of the thing, I called to mind a passage of a
Letter of Cornelius, that was *Bishop of Rome*, after the
 middle of the *third Century*, which is preserved by *Euse-
 bius* in his sixth Book, Chapter 43. In which we have the
 State of the *Church of Rome* at that time set forth. There
 were forty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, as many *Sub-
 deacons*, and ninety four of the Inferior Orders of the *Cler-
 gy* among them: there were also fifteen hundred *Widows*,
 and other poor maintained out of the publick Charities. It
 may be reasonably supposed, that the numbers of the
Christians were as great when this *Epistle* was writ, as
 they were at any time before *Constantine's* dayes; for as
 this was writ at the end of that long Peace, of which both
Cyprian and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued
 above a hundred years; so after this time, there was such
 a succession of *Persecutions*, that came so thick one upon
 another, after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot
 think the numbers of the *Christians* increased much
 beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two
 particulars in this State of the *Clergy*, upon which one
 may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the *Chri-
 stians*; the one is, their *Poor*, which were but *fifty*

hundred: now upon an exact survey, it will be found, that where the poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to be the *thirtieth* or *fortieth* part of mankind; and this may be well believed to be the proportion of the *Poor* among the *Christians* of that Age: For as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Trophimus*, and others, Object this to the *Christians* of that time, that their Charities to the *Poor* drew vast numbers of the lower sort among them, who made themselves *Christians* that they might be supplied by their Brethren: So that this being the State of the *Christian* then, we may reckon the *Poor* the *thirtieth* part, and fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty, produce five and forty thousand: And I am the more inclined to think, that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other Character of the numbers of the *Clergy*; for as there were forty six *Presbyters*, so there were ninety four of the inferior Orders, who were two more than double the number of the *Priests*: and this was in a time in which the Care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the *Clergy* having then really more work on their hands, the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the Weak, being Tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City, as *Rome* was in those days, in which it is probable the *Christians* were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon, that every *Presbyter* had perhaps about a thousand Souls committed to his Care, so this rises to six and forty thousand: which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their *Poor*. So that about *fifty thousand* is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the *Christians* of *Rome* in that time: And of so many persons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth parts; so that men that were in condition to work, were not above *twelve thousand*.

and by consequence, they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a Work. If *Cornelius* in that *Letter* speaks of the numbers of the *Christians* in excessive terms, and if *Tertullian* in his *Apology* hath also set out the numbers of the *Christians* of his time, in a very high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pompous Eloquence, which disposeth people to magnifie their own Party, and we must allow a good deal to a hyperbole, that is very natural to all that set forth their Forces in general terms. It is true, it is not so clear when those vast *Cities* were dug out of the *Rocks*. We know, that when the *Laws* of the twelve *Tables* were made, *Sepulture* was then in use; and *Rome* being then grown to a vast bigness, no doubt they had *Repositories* for their *Dead*: so that since none of the *Roman Authors* mention any such work, it may not be unreasonable to Imagine, that these *Vaults* had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the *City*, and so the later *Authors* had no occasion to take notice of it. It is also certain, that tho *Burning* came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they returned back to their first *Custom* of *Burying* Bodies long before *Constantines* time; so that it was not the *Christian Religion* that produced this change. All our modern *Writers* take it for granted, that the change was made in the times of the *Antonines*; yet there being no *Law* made concerning it, and no mention being made in an Age full of writers, of any orders that were given for *Burying*-places, *Valerius*'s opinion seems more probable, that the *Custom* of *Burning* wore out by degrees; and since we are sure, that they once *buried*, it is more natural to think, that the *Slaves* and the meaner sort of people were still *Buried*, that being a less expenceful, and a more simple way of bestowing their Bodies, than *Burning*, which was both pompous and chargeable; and, if there were already *Burying* places prepared, it is much easier to imagin how the *Custom* of *Burying* grew universal without any *Law* made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the *Modern Criticks* take it for granted, that *Burying*

began in the times of the *Antonins*, till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the Ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying alwayes open before him: he told me, that it was certain, the change from *Burning* to *Burying*, was not made by the *Christian Emperours*; for *Macrobius* (lib. 7. chap. 7.) sayes, in plain terms, that the Custom of *Burning* the *Bodies* of the *Dead*, was quite worn out in that age; which is a clear Intimation, that it was not laid aside so late as by *Constantine*; and as there was no Law made by him on that head, so he and the succeeding *Emperours*, gave such an entire toleration to *Paganism*, admitting those of that *Religion* to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined, that there was any order given against *Burning*; so that it is clear, the *Heathens* had changed it of their own accord: otherwayes we should have found that among the Complaints that they made of the Grievances under which they lay from the *Christians*. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Phlegons*, that mentions the *Bodies* that were laid in the Ground; yet he did not build on that; for it may have relation to the customs of *Burying* that might be elsewhere. And so *Petronius* gives the account of the *Burial* of the *Ephesian Matrons husband*; but he made it apparent to me, that *Burying* was commonly practised in *Commodus's* time; for *Xiphilinus* tells us, that in *Pertinax's* time, the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their *Bodies*, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their entire *Bodies*. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* body, and so saved it from the Rage of the People; and here is a positive Evidence, that *Burying* was the common practice of that time. The same learned person has since my first conversation with him upon this subject, suggested to me two passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determiné this whole matter; and that tell us, by what names those *Catacombs*

were known in the Roman time, whereabouts they were, and what sort of persons were laid in them; we have also the designation by which the Bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the Dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the *Repositories*, of which that author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His words are. *Puticulos antiquissimum genus sepultura appellatos, quod ibi in puteis s. putrescerent homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera proijci solent, extra portam Esquilinam: qua quod ibi putrescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi ea putrescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespa & Vespillones dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non à minutis illis volucribus, sed quia vespertino tempore eos efficiunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts, that a general view of those *Repositories* give a man, that it will not be hard to persuade him, that those *Burying places*, that are now graced with the pompous title of *Catacombs*, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius*, where the meanest sort of the Roman slaves were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

It is true, it is very probable, that as we see some of the Roman Families continued to Bury their Dead; even when Burning was the more common Custom; so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being Indifferent, and no Law being made about it; and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the Custom of Burning the Bodies of the Dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from *Medalls* of Consecrations after this time, will only prove, that some were still Burnt, and that the Christians practised Burying Universally, as

expressing their belief of the Resurrection; whereas the *Heathens* held the thing Indifferent. It is also clear, from the many genuine *Inscriptions* that have been found in the *Catacombs*, which bear the dates of the *Consuls*, that these were the common *Burial-Places* of all the *Christians* of the *fourth* and *fifth* Century; for I do not remember, that there is any one date that is Antienter; and yet not one of the *Writers* of those *Ages* speak of them, as the Work of the *Primitive Christians*. They speak indeed of the *Burial-Places* of the *Martyrs*; but that will prove no more, but that the *Christians* might have had their *Quarters*, and their *Walks* in those common *Burial-places*, where they laid their *Dead*, and which might have been known among them, tho it is not likely, that they would in times of *Persecution* make such *Inscriptions* as might have exposed the *Bodies* of their dead *Friends* to the *Rage* of their *Enemies*. And the *Spurious Acts* of some *Saints* and *Martyrs*, are of too little credit to give any support to the common Opinion. *Damasus's Poetry* is of no better Authority. And tho those *Ages* were inclined enough to give credit to *Fables*, yet it seems this of those *Catacombs*, having been the work of the *Primitive Christians*, was too gross a thing to have been so early Imposed on the World. And this silence in an *Age*, in which *Superstition* was going on at so great a rate, has much force in it; for so vast a Work, as those *Catacombs* are, must have been well known to all the *Romans*. It were easy to carry this much further, and to shew, that the *Bas Reliefs*, that have been found in some of those *Catacombs*, have nothing of the beauty of the *Ancient Roman* time. This is also more discernable in many *Inscriptions* that are more *Gothick* than *Roman*; and there are so many *Inscriptions* relating to *Fables*, that it is plain, these were of later times; and we see by *Saint Jerom*, that the *Monks* began, even in his time, to drive a trade of *Reliques*; so it is no wonder, that to raise the credit of such a heap, as was never to be exhausted, they made some miserable *Sculptures*, and some *Inscriptions*;

scriptions; and perhaps shut up the entrys into them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more Reputation; which was often practised in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to some single Relique; and a few being upon this Secret, either those might have dyed, or by the many Revolutions that hapned in Rome, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last Age; and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazin of Bones, which by all appearance are no other than the Bones of the Pagan Romans; which are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition, that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the Bones of the Roman Slaves, or at least, those of the meaner sort, are now set in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other costly Garniture, [and entertain the Superstition of those who are willing to be deceived, as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended, that there was such a number of Christians at Naples, as could have wrought such Catacombs, and if it had been once thought, that those were the common Burial-places of the ancient Heathens, that might have induced the World to think, that the Roman Catacombs were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examin these. I thought this deserved a large discourse, and therefore I have dwelt pethaps a little too long on this subject.

I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known as *Mont Vesuvio*, it had roared soloud about a month before I came to Naples, that at Naples they could hardly sleep in the Nights, and some old Houses were so shaken by the Earthquake, that was occasioned by this convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground: And the great Convulsion above fifty years ago, was so terrible, that there was no small fear in Naples, tho it lyes at the distance of seven Miles from the Hill, yet the storm was choaked with

der ground; for tho it smokt much more than ordinary, yet there was no eruption: It was indeed *smoking* not only in the mouth of the little Mount, that is formed within the great wast that the fire hath made, but also all along the bottom that is between the outward mouth of this *Mountain* (which is four miles in compass) and that inward *Hill*. When one sees the Mouth of this fire, and so great a part of the Hill which is covered some foot deep with ashes and stones of a metallick Composition, that the fire throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and wonder what can be the Fuel of so lasting a Burning, that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out such prodigious quantities. It is plain, there are vast *Veins* of *Sulphur* all along in this Soil, and it seems in this *Mountain* they run along through some *Mines* and *Rocks*, and as their slow consumption produceth a perpetual smoke, so when the Air within is so much rarified that it must open it self, it throws up those masses of *Mettle* and *Rock* that shut it in, but how this *Fire* draws in *Air* to nourish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless there is either a conveyance of Air under ground, by some undiscovered yacuity, or a more insensible transmission of *Air*, through the pores of the *Earth*. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon the Soil, that lyes upon it towards the foot of it, that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*; and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the *Villages* at the bottom is thought the best *Air* of the *Country*, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their health. *Ischia*, that is an *Island* not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes spew out fire.

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the *Cave* that pierceth the *Pausilippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true measure; it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high, but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the *Stone* cut out here is good for building; so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it

was also a *Quarry* for the building of the *Town*: All along the way here, one discovers a strange boiling within the ground; for a little beyond this *Grot* of *Pausanippe*, as we come near the *Lake* of *Aniano*, there is of the one Hand, a *Bath*, occasioned by a *Steam* that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some *Diseases*, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*: And about twenty paces from thence, there is another little *Grot*, that sends out a *Poysonous Steam*, that as it put out a *Candle*, as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time; for in half that time a *Dog* upon which the Experiment is commonly try'd (the *Grot* being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell into a convulsion. From that one goeth to see the poor *Remains* of *Puzoli*, and of all that *Bay*, that was once all about a tract of *Towns*, it having been the retreat of the *Romans*, during the heats of the Summer. All the *Antiquities* here, have been so often, and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the *Amphitheater*, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil's* Houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious tradition; they are ancient brick buildings of the *Roman* way, and the vaults of *Virgil's* House are still intire: The *Solfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom, out of which the force of the Fire, that breaks out still in many places, in a thick steaming smoke, that is full of *Brimstone*, did throw up about a hundred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo*, upon the Ruins of a *Town*, that was overwhelmed with this Eruption; which is of a very considerable height; they told me, that there was before that time a *Channel*, that went from the *Bay* into the *Lake* of *Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the *Bay* at some distance from the shore, it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfata-*

74, this passage is stoppt, and the *Averno* is now fresh Water; it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing *Cave*, where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her *Inspirations*: the hewing it out of the *Rock*, hath been a prodigious Work; for the *Rock* is one of the hardest Stones in the World, and the *Cave* goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and as I could guess, eighteen foot high: and from the end of this great *Gallery*, there is a narrow passage of three foot broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping descent from the great *Cave*; here are three little rooms, in one of them there are some Rests of an Old *Mosaick*, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over; there is also a spring of Water, and a *Bath*, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed herself; and from this *Cave* it is said, that there runs a *Cave* all along to *Cuma*, which is three long miles, but the passage is now choakt by the falling in of the *Rock* in several places: This piece of *Work* amazed me; I did not much mind the popular opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the *Devil*; the marks of the Chizzel in all the parts of the *Rock* sheweth, that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many hands at their command who set about it; and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design, but to subdue the *People* more intirely to the conduct of the *Priests* that managed this *Imposture*; so busie and industrious hath the Ambition and Fraud of the *Priests* been in all *Ages*, and in all corrupt *Religions*. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that present it self in the Bay of *Puzzolo*, the Rests of *Caligula's Bridge* are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten of the *Pillars* that supported the *Arches*, and of some of the *Arches*, the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furthest of those *Pillars* is built, but my *Waterman* assured me, it was fifty Cubits. I have since my being in *Naples*, instructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have

have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plum the water at the furthest pillar of *Caligula's* bridge, on the *Puzzolo* side; and found it was seven fathom and a half deep: but he adds, that the Watermen assured him, that on the other side before *Bais*, the water was twenty six fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had assured him, that the Water was ten fathom deep on the *Puzzoli* side, so upon tryal he found it was only seven and a half: and by this measure one may suppose that the water is twenty fathom deep on the other side: so that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of water, and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant Expence of a Brutal Tyrant, who made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted, over three or four Miles of Sea, meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his Vanity: As for *Agripina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the *Bas Reliefs* are yet entire. The marvellous *Fish-Pond* is a great Balin of Water, wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock; and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaster, which is now as hard as stone; this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*; and about a quarter of a mile from thence, there is another vast work, which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick; and as one enters into the Rock, he finds a great many rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaster, which is still intire, and so white that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made; there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be a hundred; from whence this Cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Camere*: This hath been as expensive a work as it is useless; it is intitled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners.

But

But there is nothing in all this Bay that is both so curious and so useful as the Baths, which seem to flow from the same reason that is the cause of these Eruptions in the *Vesuvius* and *Sulfatara*, and the *Grottos* formerly mentioned, that as this heat makes some Fountains there to be boiling hot, so it sends up a Steam through the Rock, that does not break through the pores of the Stone where it is hard; but where the Rock is soft and spongy, there the Steams come through with so melting a heat, that a man is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops low in the passages that are cut in the Rock, he finds no heat, because there the Rock is hard. Those Steams, as they are all Hot, so they are impregnated with such Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock; and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out of the Rock, and faced with a building; in which there are, as it were, Beds made in the Walls, upon which, those that come thither, to sweat for their health, lay their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out of their sweats.

It is certain, that a man can no where pass a day of his life, both with so much pleasure, and with such advantage, as he finds in this journey to *Puzzoli*, and all along the Bay: but tho' anciently this was all so well built, so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where does one see more visibly what a change Time brings upon all places: for *Naples* hath so intirely eat out this place, and drawn its *Inhabitants* to it, that as *Puzzoli* it self is but a small Village, so there is now no other in all this Bay, which was anciently built almost all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it. Having thus told you what I found most considerable in *Naples*, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the *Via Apia*, that runs along thirty miles of the Way between it and *Rome*, without making some mention of it: this High-way is twelve foot broad, all made of huge Stones, most of them blew, and they are generally a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this Causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred Years; and is in most pla-

as for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the Botches that have been made for mending such places, that have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those *Stones* carry, should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides, that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase, chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills, both which Reasons should make a more sensible difference between those *Ways* and the Soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those *Ways* were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those *Ways* were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant, than to walk along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all sorts of Carriage, and indeed *Mulets* are the only Beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several Rests or *Roman Antiquities* at the *Mole of Cajeta*; but the *Isle of Caprea*, now called *Crapa*, which is a little way into the Sea off from *Naples*, gave me a strange Idea of *Tiberius's* Reign, since it is hard to tell, whether it was more extraordinary, to see a *Prince* abandon the best Seats and Palaces of *Italy*, and shut himself up in a little *Island*, in which I was told, there was a tradition of seven little *Palaces* that he built in it, or to see so vast a body as the *Roman Empire* so governed by such a *Tyrannical Prince*, at such a distance from the chief Seat, so that all might have been reversed long before that the News of it could have been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, than to see so vast a *State*, that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal, and so voluptuous a *Man* as *Anthony*, and so raw a *Youth* as *Augustus*; so the wonder is much improved, when we see a

Prince

Prince at a hundred and fifty Miles distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Rains of so great a Body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the Empress of the World; in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in Europe. On the side of Tuscany, the entry into Rome is very surprising to Strangers; for one cometh along for a good many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flammiana*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia*; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the Roman Greatness, who laid such Causeways all Italy over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Popolo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two twins, resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long Vista of Streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World, where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are so Noble, as where the other Buildings are so mean; which indeed discovers very visibly the Misery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are so well known, that I will not adventure on any description of them, and indeed I had too transcient a view of them, to make it with the degree of exactness which the Subject requires. *S. Peter* alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its length, height, and breadth are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear vast as it is found to be upon a more particular attention; and as the four Pillars, upon which the Cupulo rises are of such a prodigious bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever; so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so heavy a weight; for as the Church is of a vast height, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the Church. In the height of the Concave of

Capulo, there is a representation, that tho it can hardly be seen from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross Indication of the Idolatry of that Church; for the Divinity is there pictured as an *antient man* compassed about with *Angels*. I will say nothing of the great *Altar*, of the *Chair* of *S. Peter*; of the great *Tombs*, of which, the three chief are those for *Paul* the 111. *Urban* the VIII. and *Alexander* the V II. nor of the vast *Vaults* under this Church, and the Remains of *Antiquity* that are reserved in them: nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining *Palace*, where the painting of the *Corridors*, and of many of the *Rooms*, by *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo* are so rich, that one is sorry to see a work of that value laid in *Fresco*, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia*, that is before the famous *Chappel* of *Sisto V.* and that is all painted in *Fresco*, one corner that represents the *Murder* of the renowned *Admiral Chastillon*, and that hath written under those words, *Rex Colinii necem probat*: The vast length of the *Gallery* on one side, and of the *Library* on another, do surprize one; the *Gardens* have many *Statues* of a most excessive value, and some good *Fountains*; but the *Gardens* are ill maintained both here, and in the *Palace* on the *Quirinal*. And indeed, in most of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case, that is brought together at so vast a charge, they would make another sort of show, and be looked at with much more pleasure. In the *Apartment* of *Rome* there are a great many things that offend the sight: The *Doors* are generally mean, and the *Locks* meaner, except in the *Palace* of *Prince Borghese*, where as there is the vastest collection of the best *Paintures*, and of the hands of the greatest Masters that are in all *Europe*, so the *Doors* and *Locks* give not that least to the eye, that one finds elsewhere. The flooring of the *Palaces* is all of *Brick*, which is so very

very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the Floors and the rest of the Room, not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true, they say, their *Air* is so cold and moist in Winter, that they cannot pave with *Marble*; and the heat is sometimes so great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great *Palaces* servants to wash their Floors, with that care that is used in *Holland*, where the *Air* is moister, and the Climate is more productive of Vermin, they would not find such effects from wooden floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much Wealth all at once, as the *Italians* do, upon the building and finishing of their *Palaces* and *Gardens*, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them: another thing I observed in their *Palaces*; there is indeed a great series of Noble Rooms one within another, of which their Apartments are composed; but I did not find, at the end of the Apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for Back-stairs, Dressing-rooms, Closets, Servants rooms, and other Conveniences as are necessary for accommodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not necessary for an apartment of State, in which *Magnificence* is more considered than Convenience; but I found the same want in those Apartments in which they lodged; so that notwithstanding all the Riches of their *Palaces*, it cannot be said, that they are well lodged in them; and their *Gardens* are yet less understood, and worse kept than their *Palaces*. It is true, the *Villa Borghese* ought to be excepted, where, as there is a prodigious collection of *Basilisks*, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered over, that are of a vast value; so the *Statues* within, which some are of *Porphyry*, and others of *Tombstone*, are amazing things: The whole ground of this *Park*, which is about three miles in compass, and in which there are six or seven *Lodges*, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an *English Park*, when I walked over it.

Villa Pamphilia is better situated, upon a higher ground, and hath more *Waterworks*, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the *House* nor *Statues* approach to the Riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the *Palaces* of *Rome*, the publick Apartments are all covered over with *Pictures*; and for those Apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom; but there is very little *Tapistry* in *Italy*.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the *Popes Palace*. I named one part of it, which will engage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is, the *Library* of the *Vatican*. The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a collection of *Books* that catch a mans eye: There is first a great *Hall*, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two *Galleries* of so vast length, that tho the half of them is already furnished with *Books*, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new *Books* than the World will ever produce. The *Heidelberg Library* stands by it self, and filleth the one end of the *Gallery*, as the *Duke of Urbins Library* of *Manuscripts* filleth the other. But tho these last are very fine & beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of *Heidelberg*. When it appeared that I was come from *England*, King *Henry* the VIII's Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, with an Inscription writ upon it with his own Hand to *Pope Leo* the X. was shewed me; together with a collection of some *Letters* that he writ to *Anna Bolen*, of which some are in *English*, and some in *French*. I, that saw his *Hand* well, saw clearly that they were no Forgeries. There are not many *Latin Manuscripts* of great Antiquity in this *Library*; some few of *Virgils* I saw writ in *Caracter*. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between *Mr. Schelstrat* the Library-keeper,

keeper, and Mr. Maimbourg, concerning the Council of Constance. The two Points in debate are the Words of the Decree made in the fourth Session, and the Popes Confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the French Manuscripts, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other Persons whatsoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members; which as it implies, that the Head was corrupted, and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Popes Infallibility to no small straits: For if Pope Martin, who approved this Decree, was infallible, then this Decree is good still; and if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible. To all this Schelstrat answers from his Manuscripts, that the words of a Reformation in Head and Members, are not in the Decree of that Session; and he did shew me several Manuscripts, of which two were evidently written during the sitting of the Council, and were not at all altered, in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writting of that Age too well to be easily mistaken in my judgement, concerning those Manuscripts; but if those words are wanting, there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the superiority of the Council above that Pope. For it is Decreed, that Pope and all other persons, were bound to submit to the Decisions of the Council, as to Faith: which words are not in the French Manuscripts: Upon this I told Mr. Schelstrat that I thought the words in these Manuscripts were stronger than the other, since the word Reformation, as it was used in the time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the Correcting of Abuses, it being often applied to the Regulations that were made in the Monastick Orders, when they were brought to a more exact Observation of the Rules of their Order: So tho the Council had Decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not see how this would import more, than that the Papacy had taken

of some Disorders that needed a Reformation: and this
 not denied, even by those who assert the Popes Infalli-
 bility: but a Submission to points of Faith, that is expressly
 asserted in the Roman Manuscripts, is a much more posi-
 tive Evidence against the Popes Infallibility: and the word
 which is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly
 ascribed to Reformation. But this difference, in so main a
 point between Manuscripts, concerning so late a trans-
 action, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncer-
 tainty of Tradition, especially of matters that are at a
 great distance from us; when those that were so lately
 transacted, are so differently represented in Manuscripts,
 in which, both those of Paris, and Rome, seem to
 contain all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the Popes
 confirmation of that *De-ree*, it is true, by a General Bull,
 Martin confirmed the Council of Constance to such
 period; but besides that, he made a particular Bull,
 in which he enumerated all the
 decrees that he confirmed, and among those, this *De-
 cree* concerning the Superiority of the Council is not na-
 med; this seemed to be of much more importance, and
 therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull; for
 there seems to be just reasons to apprehend a forgery here:
 he promised to do his indeavours, tho he told me, that
 it would not be easy; for the Bulls were strictly kept; and
 the next day when I came, hoping to see it, I could not
 get it admitted: but he assured me, that if that had not
 been the last day of my stay at Rome, he would have pro-
 duced a Warrant for my seeing the Original: so this is all
 I can say as to the authenticalness of that Bull: But sup-
 posing it to be genuine, I could not agree to Mr. Schel-
 shofrat; that the General Bull of Confirmation, ought to
 be limited to the other, that enumerates the particular
 decrees: but since that particular Bull was never dis-
 covered till he hath found it out, it seems it was
 secretly made, and did not pass according to the
 forms of the Consistory; and was a fraudulent thing,
 which no noise was to be made in that Age, and there-

Therefore in all the Dispute that followed in the Council of *Basil*, between the *Pope* and the *Council*, upon this very point, no mention was ever made of it by either side: and thus it can have no force, unless it be to discover the *Artifices* and *Fraud* of that *Court*: That at the same time which the *Necessity* of their affairs obliged the *Pope* to confirm the *Decrees* of the *Council*, he contrived a secret *Bull* which in another Age might be made use of, to weaken the *Authority* of the *General Confirmation* that he gave; and therefore a *Bull*, that doth not pass in due Form, and is not promulgated, is of no *Authority*, and so this pretended *Bull* cannot limit the other *Bull*. There were some other things, relating to this Debate, that were shew'd me by *Mr. Schellbrat*; but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the *Learned Men at Rome*, *Ballori* is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the *Greek* and *Egyptian Antiquities*, and for all that belongs to the *Mythologies*, and *Superstitions* of the *Heathens*; and hath a *Closet* richly furnished with things relating to those matters. *Fabretti* is justly celebrated for his Understanding of the *Old Roman Architecture* and *Fabricks*. *Padre Fabri* is the chief Honour of the *Jesuits Collage*, and is much above the common Rate both for *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, and *Church History*. And he to whom I was the most obliged, *Alfonso Nazari*, hath so general a view of the several parts of *Learning*, tho he hath chiefly applied himself to *Philosophy* and *Mathematicks*, and is a man of so engaging a *Civility*, and used me in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I hath the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of *Esteem* and *gratitude* that I can possibly make them.

One sees in *Cardinal d'Estre* all the advantages of a noble birth, great Parts, a generous *Civility*, and a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a person of his rank; but as he gave a noble Protection to some of the most learned Men that this Age hath produced, *Mr. Launney*, who lived many years with him, so he

visib

able, that he made a great progress by the conversation
 of so extraordinary a person; and as for *Theological Learning*,
 there is now none of the *Colledge* equal to him. *Cardinal Howard* is too well known in *England* to need any
 character from me: The elevation of his present condi-
 tion hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the
 sweetness and gentleness of temper that we saw in him in
England; and he retains the unaffected Simplicity and
 Humility of a *Fryer*, amidst all the Dignity of the *Purple*:
 and as he sheweth all the generous care and concern for
 his *Country-men* that they can expect from him; so I met
 with so much of it, in so many obliging marks of his good-
 ness for my self, that went far beyond a common civility,
 that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told, the *Pope's*
Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the *Oriental*
Learning, which is but little known in *Rome*: He is a
 Master of the *Arabick Tongue*, and hath writ, as *Abbot*
Nazarit told me, the learnedst *Book* against the *Mahome-*
tan Religion, that the *World* hath yet seen, but is not yet
 printed: He is not so much esteemed in *Rome* as he
 would be elsewhere; for his *Learning* is not in vogue;
 and the *School Divinity* and *Casuistical Learning*, being
 that for which *Divines* are most esteemed there; he whole
 studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as
 he ought to be; and perhaps the small account that the
Pope makes of *Learned Men*, turns somewhat upon the
Confessor; for it is certain, that this is a *Reign* in which
Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general Contempt that all the *Romans* have,
 for the present *Pontificate*, one made a pleasant reflection
 to me, he said, Those *Popes*, that intended to raise
 their *Families*, as they saw the censure that this brought
 upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things,
 that might soften the Spirits of the people. No man did
 more for beautifying *Rome*, for finishing *St. Peters* and
 the *Library*, and for furnishing *Rome* with *Water*, than
Pope Paul the V. tho at the same time he did not forget his
 family; and tho the other *Popes*, that have raised great

Families, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did. yet there are many remains of their Magnificence; whereas those *Popes* that have not raised *Families*, have seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their Reputation, and so they have not done much, either to commend their *Government* to their *Subjects*, or their *Rules* to *Posterity*; and it is very plain, that the present *Pope* taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a noise in the World: and there is at present a regularity in *Rome*; that deserveth great commendation; for publick Vices are not to be seen there: His personal Sobriety is also singular. One assured me, that the Expence of his *Table* did not amount to a *Crown* a day; tho this is indeed short of *Sisto V.* who gave order to his *Steward*, never to exceed five and twenty *Bajokes*, that is, eighteen pence a day, for his *Diet*. The *Pope* is very careful of his Health, and doth never expose it; for upon the least disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition many days; but his *Government* is severe, and his *Subjects* are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind which perhaps is not ill grounded, that the *Poverty* of a Nation, not only dispeoples it, by driving the People out of it, but by weakning the natural fertility of the *Subjects*; for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual Labour, and with the tearing Anxieties that Want brings with it, must be much more lively, than those that are pressed with Want; so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate, than the other: and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the *Fruitfulness* of *Genoa* and *Switzerland*, which the *Barrenness* that reigns over all *Italy*. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of *Genoa*; *Mr. Trombin*, that was *Professor of Divinity*, and *Father* to the *Judicious* and worthy *Professor* of the same name; that is now there, dyed at the age of seventy six *Years*, and had a hundred and fifteen *Persons* alive,

ve, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him *Father*. And Mr. *Calendrin*, a pious and laborious Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the Family of the *Calendrinis*, who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left *Lucca* their Native City with the *Turrens*, the *Diodati*, and the *Bourlamacchi*, and some others that came and settled at *Geneva*: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to Eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done, he may have some hundreds that will be in the same relation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in *Italy*.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in *Rome*; than to see the great Fountains of Water, that are almost in all the corners of it: That old Aqueduct which the V. restored, cometh from a collection of Springs, five and thirty Miles distant from *Rome*, that run all the way upon an Aqueduct in a Cannel that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain: It breaketh out in five several Fountains, of which some give water about a foot square. That of *Sixtus* the V. the great Fountain of *Aqua Travi*, that hath yet no decoration, but discharges a prodigious quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the *Piazza Navona*, that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the *Piazza de Spagna*, those before *S. Peters*, and the *Palazzo Farnese*, with many others, furnish *Rome* so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain that runs continually. All these, I say, are noble Decorations, that carry an usefulness with them, that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this City, with one of the chief Pleasures and Conveniences of Life, than of others; who have laid out millions merely to bring quantities of Water to give the eye a little diversion; which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would have more effectu-

ally eternized their Fame, if they had been employed the Romans did their Treasures, in furnishing great Towers with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigns among all sorts of people at Rome, which in a great measure flows from their Government; for every man being capable of the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the *Monsignors*, and one of these may be a *Cardinal*, and one of these may be chosen *Pope*, this makes every man behave himself toward all other persons with an Exactness of Respect: for every man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes the Professions of Esteem and Kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them, the conversation of Rome is generally upon *News*, for tho there is no news Printed there, yet in the several *Antichambers* of the Cardinals (where if they make any considerable figure, there are *Assemblies* of those that make their Court to them) one is sure to hear all the *News* of Europe, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the *Queen of Swedens*, all that relateth to Germany or the North is ever to be found; and that *Princess*, that must ever reign among all that have a true taste either of Wit or Learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the *Strangers*, and her Civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living Rarities that one sees in Rome; I will not use her own words to myself, which was, *That she now grew to be one of the Antiquaries of Rome*. The *Ambassadors of Crowns*, who live here in another form than in any other Courts, and the *Cardinals* and *Prelates* of the several Nations, that do all men's heads center here, make, that there is more news in Rome than any where; For *Priests*, and the men of Religious Orders, write larger and more particular Letters, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time, that they need be well recompenced; for it is very great. As for

Studies *Antiquities*, *Pictures*, *Statues*, or *Musicks*,
 is more entertainment for him at *Rome*, than in all
 the rest of *Europe*; but if he hath not a taste of these things,
 he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is
 so general, and where there is little Sincerity or Open-
 ness practised; and by consequence, where friendship is
 not understood. The *Women* here begin to be a little more
 conversable, tho' a *Nation* naturally jealous, will hardly
 allow a great liberty in a *City* that is composed of *Ecclesiasti-*
cals; who being denyed the priviledge of *Wives* of their
 own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with
 the *Wives* of others: The Liberties that were taken in the
 stable of *Naples's palace*, had indeed disgusted the *Ro-*
mans much at that Freedom, which had no bounds.
 The *Dutchess of Bracciano*, that is a *French Woman*,
 by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the
 innocent Freedoms of a Noble Conversation, recovered
 a great measure; the Credit of those Liberties, that *La-*
zies beyond the Mountains practise, with all the strictness
 of Vertue: For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and
 in publick Rooms; and by the liveliness of her Conversa-
 tion, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly
 of Strangers, that is to be found in any of the *Palaces* of
 the *Italians* at *Rome*.

I will not ingage in a description of *Rome*, either an-
 cient or modern, this hath been done so oft, and with such
 exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been
 already published. It is certain, that when one is in the *Ci-*
ty, and sees those poor Rests of what once it was, he is
 surprized to see a building of so great a fame sunk so low,
 that one can scarce imagine that it was once a *Castle*, sei-
 cured upon a Hill, able to hold out against a Siege of the
Gauls: The *Tarpeian Rock* is now of so small a fall, that a
 man would think it no great matter, for his diversion,
 to leap over it: and the shape of the ground hath not been
 much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very
 much changed on the other. For *Severus's Triumphant*
Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other side, is

not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast *Amphitheater of Titus* is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the *Capitol* one findeth many Noble remnants of *Antiquity*; but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the *Tables of the Consuls*, which are upon the *Walls*; and the *Inscription on the Columna Rastrata* in the time of the first *Punic War*, without doubt the most valuable *Antiquity* in *Rome*. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of *Old Rome* in the Ruins of the *Temples*, in the *Triumphal Arches*, in the *Portico's*, and other Remains of that Glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast ideas of that *Republick*, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the *Convent of Araceli*, a man hath a full view of all the extent of *Rome*, but literally it is now *sepulchri Romæ* suit; for the parts of the *City*, that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great *Gardens*, or, as they call them, *Vineyards*, of which some are half a mile in compass; The vastness of the *Roman Magnificence and Luxury*, is that which passeth imagination; the prodigious *Amphitheater of Titus*, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand spectators; the great extent of the *Circus Maximus*; the vaults where the *Waters* were reserved that furnished *Titus's Baths*; and above all, *Dioclesian's Baths*, tho built when the *Empire* was in its decay, are so far above all *Modern Buildings*, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those *Baths* is above half a mile in compass: the vastness of the *Rooms* in which the *Bathers* might swim, of which the *Carthusians Church*, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many great *Pillars*, all of one stone of *Marble*, beautifully spotted, are things of which these latter Ages are not capable. The beauty of their *Temples*, and of the *Portico's* before them, is amazing, chiefly that of the *Rotonda* where the *Emperors* without, looketh as mean, being only brick, as the *Architecture* is bold, for it riseth up in a *Vault*, and yet at the

there is an open left, of thirty foot in Diameter, which is the only *Window* of the *Church*, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of *Architecture* that ever was made. The *Pillars* of the *Portico* are also the noblest in Rome, they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of *one Stone*: and the numbers of those ancient *Pillars*, with which, not only many of the *Churches* are beautified, chiefly *S. Mary Maggiore*, and *S. John* in the *Lateran*, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the *Fragments*, of which there are such multitudes in all the *Streets* of *Rome*, giveth a great Idea of the Expencefulness of the old *Romans* in their buildings, for the hewing and fetching a few of those *Pillars*, must have cost more than whole *Palaces* do now: since most of them were brought from *Greece*: Many of these *Pillars* are of *Porphyry*, others of *Jasp*, others of *granad* *Marble*, but the greatest number is of white *Marble*: The two *Columns*, *Trajan* and *Antoninus*, the two *Horses* that are in the *Mount Cavallo*, and the other two *Horses* in the *Capitol*, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other: The *brass Horse*, that as is believed carrieth *Marcus Aurelius*; the remains of *Nero's Colossus*; the *Temple of Bacchus* near the *Catacomb* of *S. Agnes*, which is the intirest and the least altered of all the ancient *Temples*: The great *Temple of Peace*; those of the *Sun* and *Moon*: that of *Romulus* and *Remus*, (which is considered as the ancientest *Fabrick* that is now left; for its little and simple, and standeth in such a place; that when *Rome* grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its *Antiquity*) the many other *Portico's*, the *Arches* of *Severus*, of *Titus*, and *Constantine*, in the last of which one sees that the *Sculpture* of his *Age*, was much less from what it had been, only in the top there are some *Fine Reliefs*, that are clearly of a much ancienter time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great *Aqueducts* that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see

oft enough, if he would form in himself a juſt idea of the vaſtneſs of that *Republick*, or rather *Empire*: There are many *Statues* and *Pillars*, and other *Antiquities* of great value, dug up in all the quarters of *Rome*, theſe laſt hundred and fourſcore years, ſince *Pope Leo* the tenth's time, who as he was the greateſt Patron of *Learning* and *Art*, that perhaps ever was, ſo was the generouſeſt Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that firſt ſet on foot the inquiring into the Riches of *Old Rome*, that lay, till his time, for the moſt part, hid under ground; and indeed if he had been leſs ſcandalous in his *Impiety* and *Arbeifm*, which neither he nor his *Court* were ſo much aſhamed, he had been one of the moſt celebrated perſons of any Age. Soon after him *Pope Paul* the III. gave the ground of the *Monte Palatino* to his *Family*: But I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one ſhould look for the greateſt collection of the *Antiquities* of the higheſt value, ſince this is the Ruin of the *Palace* of the *Roman Emperors*, hath never been yet ſearched into with any exactneſs: So that when a curious Prince cometh, that is willing to imploy many hands in digging up and down this *Hill*, we may expect new *Scenes* of *Roman Antiquities*. But all this matter would require *Volumes*; and therefore I have only named theſe things, becauſe I can add nothing to thoſe copious *Descriptions* that have been ſo oft made of them. Nor will I ſay any thing of the *modern Palaces*, or the *Ornaments* of them, either in *Pictures* or *Statues*, which are things that carry one ſo far, that it is not eaſie to give bounds to the *Descriptions* into which one findeth himſelf carried, when he once enters upon ſo fruitful a Subject. The number of the *Palaces* is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a *Traveler*, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts. It is true, the *Paleſtrina*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farnęſi* have ſomewhat in them that leave an impreſſion which no new *Objects* can wear out; and as the laſt hath a noble *Square* before it, with two great *Fountains* in it, ſo the *Statue* of *Hercules* and the *Bull*, that are below, and the *Gallery*

Gallery above stairs, are unvaluable; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the best pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of Carraccio's hand; and there are in that Gallery the greatest number of heads of the Greek Philosophers and Poets that I ever saw together: That of Homer and that of Socrates were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true *Antick*, so it carrieth in it all the Characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates; the flat Nose, the broad Face, the simplicity of Look, and the mean appearance which that great Philosopher made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it; and was delighted with this more than with all the Wonders of the Hall, which is indeed a Rock of Marble, cut out into a whole scene of Statues; but as the History of it is not well known, there are such faults in the Sculpture, that tho' it is all extremely fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the Churches & Convents of Rome, as the number, the Vastness, the Riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, so here again a stranger is lost; and the Convent that one seeth last, is always the most admired; I confess, the *Minor*, which is the *Dominicans*, where the *Inquisition* sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth Rome for an *Heretick*, tho' except one committeth great follies, he is in no danger there; and the Poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their interest so much in using Strangers well, whatsoever their Religion may be, that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more than ordinary reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the *Clergy* and *Laity* of Rome, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest Civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the *English* and *Society of Jesuits*, tho' they knew well enough that I was no friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the *English Jesuits*, among the Pictures

of their *Martyrs*, I did not meet with *Garnet*; for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a *Picture*, with such a name on it, to all strangers; yet *Olcorn*, being a name less known, is hung there among their *Martyrs*, who he was as clearly convicted of the *Gunpowder Treason*, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me to see that at a time, in which, for other Reasons the *Writers* of that *Commission* have not thought fit, to deny the truth of that *Conspiracy*, a *Jesuit* convicted of the blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their *Martyrs*. I saw likewise there the Original of those *Emblematical Prophecies*, relating to *England*, that the *Jesuits* have had at *Rome* near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a Copy; so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at *Rome* during *St. Gregory's Fair and Feast*, which lasted seven dayes. In his *Church* the *Hosty* was exposed; and from that, all that came thither, went to the *Chappel*, that was once his *House*, in which his *Statue*, and the *Table*, where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all *Rome* was got together. They all knelt down to his *Statue*, and after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the *Table* with his *Brads*, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will say nothing of the several *Obelisks* and *Pillars* that are in some of the celebrated *Chappels* that are in some of the great *Churches*, in particular those of *St. Peter the V.* and *Paul the V.* in *Santa Maria Maggiore*, of the *Water-works* in the *Quirinal*, the *Vatican*, and in many of the *Vineyards*: Nor will I go out of *Rome* to describe *Frescati*, (For *Truly* I did not see) The young *Prince Borghese*, who is indeed one of the *Glories* of *Rome*, as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned *Abbots*, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give than me to receive. The *Water-works* in the *Adobrandin Palace* have a Magnificence in them beyond all

that I ever saw in *France*, the mixture of *Wind* with the *Water*, and the *Thunders* and *Storms* that this maketh is noble: The *Water-works* of the *Ludovisio*, and the *Mon-
le Dragone*, have likewise a greatness in them that is natural; and indeed, the *Riches* that one meets with in all places within doors in *Italy*, and the *Poverty* that one seeth every where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely, that a great part of their movable *Wealth* will be ere long carried into *France*; 'or as soon as any *Picture* or *Statue* of great value is offered to be sold, those that are employed by the *King of France*, do presently buy it up, so that as that King hath already, the greatest collection of *Pictures* that is in *Europe*. he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief *Treasures* of *Italy*.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in *Rome*. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of *Natural History* that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots, *Fabretti* and *Nazari*, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by *Cardinal Howard*, who was one of the *Congregation of Cardinals* that examined and judged the matter. There were two *Nuns* near *Rome*, one as I remember was in the *City*; and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a *Nunnery*, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their *Sex* was altered, which grew by some degrees to a total alteration in one; and tho' the other was not so entire a change, yet it was visible she was more *Man* than *Woman*; upon this the matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth it self here, is, that these two had been alwayes what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a *Nunnery* in a disguise, so gratifie a brutal Appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the *Breasts* of a *Woman*, that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that Objection, so the proofs were given so fully, of their having been real *Females*, that

Leonardo Alberti Descriitt. *Italia*, *Venetia* 1511. 90.
fol. 274. where he relates two examples of the same kind;
the first from *Pliny* l. 7. c. 4. at *Salerno*; the other from
a *Relater* named *Comment. Urbana*, which happened

there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of Scandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to suspect a Cheat or Disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe and more secret; and these persons would have been Burnt, or at least put to Death in some terrible manner. Some *Physicians* and *Chirurgions* were appointed to examine the matter, and at last, after a long and exact inquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their *vows*, and were dismissed from the Obligation of a *Religious* Life, and required to go in *mens habit*. One of them was a *Valet de Chambre* to a *Roman Marquess*, when I was there: I heard of this matter only two days before I left *Rome*, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an *Inquirer* into *Nature*.

And since I am upon the subject of the Changes that have been made in *Nature*, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at *Geneva*: There is a *Minister* of *S. Gervais*, Mr. *Gody*, who hath a *Daughter*, that is now *sixteen Years* old; Her *Nurse* had an extraordinary thickness of hearing; at a year old, the *Child* spoke all those little words, that Children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress; yet this was not observed, till it was too late; and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived then that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf, that ever since, tho she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems, while the milk of her *Nurse*, was more abundant, and that the *Child* sucked more moderately the first year, those humors in the Blood and Milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently, and that her *Nurse's* Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapor that occasioned the deafness. But this *Child* hath by observing the *Motions* of the *Mouths* and *Lips* of others, acquired so many *Words*, that out of these she hath formed

for

ort of *Jargon*, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own *Language*. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period; for it seemed to be a confused noise: She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the Motion of their *Mouths* that speak to her; so that in the *Night*, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a candle: Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration; She hath a *Sister*, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other; and in the *Night*, by laying her *Hand* on her *Sister's Mouth*, she can perceive by that, what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her *Mother* told me, that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short period in this manner, but it did not hold out very long: thus this young *Woman*, without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity, found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the *Misery* of her Deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the *Sister* was not present, so that I could not see how the conversation past between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning *Rome*, I cannot hinder my self, from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most Celebrated persons that lives in it; I was talking concerning the credit that the *Order* of the *Jesuites* had every where; It was said, that *all the World mistrusted them*, and yet by a strange sort of Contradiction *all the World trusted them*; and tho' it was well known that every *Jesuite* was truer to the *Interests* of his *Order* than he could be to the *Interests* of any *Prince* whatsoever, yet those *Princes* that would be very careful, not to suffer *Spys* to come into their *Courts*, or into their *Councils*, suffered those *Spys* to come into their *Breasts* and *Consciences*: and tho' *Princes* were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much *Guilt*, so they had sometimes as much *Fear* as other people, which a dextrous *Spy* knew well how to manage. Upon which, that *Person*, that pretended to

be a

be a *zealous Catholick*. added, that for their part, they considered only the *Character* that the *Church* gave to a *Priest*; and if the *Church* qualified him to do the functions of a *Priest*, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal Qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the Contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor *Ignorant Priest*; for then they had to do only with the *Church*, and not with the *Man*. Pursuant to this, that persons *Confessor* was the greatest, and the most notorious Blockhead that could be found; and when they were asked, *why they made use of so weak a man*, they answered; *because they could not find a weaker*: and when ever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a *Groom*, or a *Footman* that got into *Priests Orders*, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a Friend; but they knew no other use of a *Confessor*, but to confess to him, and to receive *Absolution* from him: and in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a *true Catholick*, that considered only the Power of the *Church* in the *Priest*, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short Ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the name of *Travelling*, and therefore the *Inquiries* or *Observations* that I could make, must be received with the Abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay; and all will be of a piece, when the *Remarks* are as slight, as the *Abode* I made in the places through which I past was short. As I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known, so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters; yet I have told you nothing but what I saw and knew to be true, or that I had from such hands, that I have very good reason to believe it: and I fancy, that the things which made the greatest impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the expressions of Esteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay; so I had a

more

more particular reason, that determin'd me to give you in full an account of all I saw and observed, for as you were pleas'd at parting to do me the Honour, to desire me to communicate to you such things as appear'd most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at *Venice*, *Rome* and *Naples*, by the Happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far consider'd by you, that I could give a copious account both of your *Person* and *Studies*, to those in whom your curious *Discoveries* had kindled that esteem for you, which all the World payeth both to you and to your immortal *Inquiries* into *Nature*, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this *Age*; and that are read with no less care and pleasure in *Italy* than in *England*. This was so well received; that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends; and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable *Character* that I gave my self; so that if I made any progress in the inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this Return that I make, is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my life.

THE FIFTH LETTER.

From Nimwegen, the 20th of May, 1686.

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a *Point* at the conclusion of my last *Letter*, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more *Letters* of the volume of the former: But new Scenes, and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I ingage you again to two or three Hours reading.

From *Civita Vecchia* I came to *Marseilles*, where there were a *Road* as Safe, as the *Harbour* is Covered, and if the *Harbour* were as Large, as it is Convenient, were certainly one of the most important places in the *World*: all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies, the securest *Port* that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, rho it is now at the mercy of the *Cittadel*, are such, and its Situation draweth so much *Trade* to it; that there one sees another appearance of *Wealth*, than I found in any *Town* of *France*; and there is a new *Street* lately built there, that for the Beauty of the Buildings, and the Largeness of the *Street*, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that *Port* a perpetual heat, and the *Sun* was as strong in the *Christmas week*, that I was often driven off the *Key*. I made a *Tour* from thence through *Province*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphine*. I will offer you no account of *Nismes*, nor of the *Amphisbeatre* in it, or the *Pont du Gar* near it; which as they are stupendious things, so they are so copiously described by many, and are so generally known

to the *English Nation*, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them, from those that have seen them on their way to *Montpelier*, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them: Nor will I say any thing of the *Soil*, the *Towns*, or any other remarkable things that I found there,

I have a much stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the *Persecution* which I saw in its *Rage* and utmost *Fury*; and of which I could give you many *Instances*, that are so much beyond all the common measures of *Barbarity* and *Cruelty*, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, than are fitting now to be brought forth; and the *particulars* that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with the necessary *Circumstances* of *Time*, *Place*, and *Persons*, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their *Enemies*, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any *Age* there ever was such a *Violation* of all that is *Sacred*, either with relation to *God* or *Man*: And what I saw and knew there, from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the *Idea's* that I had taken from *Books*, of the *Cruelty* of that *Religion*, that I hope the impression that this hath made upon me, shall never end but with my *Life*: The *Applauses* that the whole *Clergy* give to this way of proceeding, the many *Panegyrics* that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at *Paris*, there are numbers writ by smaller *Authors* in every *Town* of any note there; and the *Sermons* that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident *Demonstrations* of their sense of this matter, that what is now on foot may be well termed, *the Will of the whole Clergy of France*, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the *Roman Communion*. If any are more moderate than others; and have not so far laid off the humane nature, as to go in intirely into those bloody Practices, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret, as if it were

were half-Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the *Dragoons* to higher degrees of *Rage*: and there was such a *Heat* spread over all the *Country*, on this occasion, that one could not go into any *Ordinary*, or mix in any promiscuous conversation, without finding such effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were toucht with the least degree of *Compassion* for the *Miseries* that the *Pope Protestants* suffered, to be a witness to the *Insultings* that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in *Italy*, and it is true, there were not any publick *Rejoycings* upon it at *Rome*; no *Indulgen*es nor *Te Deums* were heard of: And the *Spanish Faction* being so prevalent there, it is not strange if a course of proceedings, that is without an example, was set forth, by all that were of that *Interest*, in its proper colours; of which I met with some instances myself, and could not but smile, to see some of the *Spanish Faction* so far to forget their *Courst of Inquisition*, as to argue against the *Conversions* by the *Dragoons*, as a reproach to the *Catholick Religion*. Yet the *Pope* was of another mind, for the *Duke d'Estrées* gave him an account of the *Kings Proceedings* in this matter very copiously; as he himself related it. Upon which the *Pope* approved all, and expressed a great *Satisfaction* in every thing that the *King* had done in that matter; and the *Pope* added, that he found some *Cardinals* (as I remember the *Duke d'Estrées* said two) were not pleased with it, and had taken the liberty to censure it; but the *Pope* said, *they were too blame*: The *Duke d'Estrées* did not name the two *Cardinals*, tho he said, he believed he knew who they were; and it is very like that *Cardinal Pio* was one; for I was told, that he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the *French King* is to be so much blamed in this matter as his *Religion* is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate *Hereticks*, and not to keep his *Faith* to them: so that

instead

instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being
 bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to
 trust himself of *Humanity*, and to violate his Faith,
 whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requi-
 reth it: Or if there is any thing in this conduct, that can-
 not be entirely justified from the Principles of that Reli-
 gion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to Death
 out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the Extremi-
 ties possible, to sign an Abjuration, that all the World must
 see, is done against their Consciences: And this
 being the only End of their Miseries; those that would
 think any sort of Death a happy conclusion of their Suffer-
 ings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of
 their Trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingering
 Deaths, of which they see no end, to make Shipwreck
 of the Faith: This appearance of Mercy, in not putting
 them to Death, doth truly verifie the Character that Solo-
 mon giveth of the tender Mercies of the wicked, that they
 are cruel.

But I will stop here, tho it is not easy to retire from so
 copious a Subject, that as it affordeth so much matter,
 upon many accounts, raiseth a heat of thought, that
 is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that
 is less passion.

I past the Winter at Geneva, with more satisfaction *Geneva.*
 than I had thought it was possible for me to have found
 any where out of England: tho that received great allayes
 from the most lamentable Stories that we had every day
 from France: But there is a Sorrow by which the Heart is
 made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowl-
 edgements possible for the Extraordinary Civilities that I met
 with in my own particular: but that is too low a Subject
 to entertain you with it. That which pleased me most,
 was of a more publick nature; before I left Geneva, the
 number of the English there was such, that I found we could
 make a small Congregation; for we were twelve or four-
 teen. So I addrest my self to the Council of 25. for Liberty to
 have our own Worship in our own Language, according to
 the

the *English Liturgy*. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any Exception to it, so they sent one of their Body to me, to let me know, that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church, they would grant us one, which had been done in Queen *Maries* Reign: but till then, we might hold our *Assemblys* as we thought fit. So after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every *Sunday* our *Devotions* according to the *Common-Prayer* Morning and Evening: and at the Evening Prayer, I preached in a Room that was indeed too large for our small Company; but there being a considerable number in *Geneva* that Understand *English*, and in particular some of the *Professors* and *Ministers*; we had a great many *Strangers* that met with us; and the last *Sunday* I gave the *Sacrament* according to the way of the *Church of England*; and upon this occasion, I found a general joy in the *Town*, for this, that I had given them an Opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our *Church*; and as in their publick Prayers they alwayes prayed for the *Churches of Great-Brittain*, as well as for the *King*, so in private Discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our *Constitutions*; and they spoke of the unhappy *Divisions* among us, and of the *Separation* that was made from us, upon the account of our *Governments* and *Ceremonies*, with great regret and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their *Professors*; that is they are Men of great Distinction, so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is *Mr. Turretin*, a Man of great Learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out, and wasted his strength; amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the Modesty of a humble and mortified temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his Abundance, or rather beyond it: And there is in him such melting Zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the serjousness of Piety and Devotion, which

these

news it felt both in private conversation and in his most edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the Consciences of his Hearers. The other is *Mr. Tronchin*, a Man of a strong Head, and of a clear and correct Judgment; who has all his thoughts well digested; his Conversation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be resisted: He is a Man of Extraordinary virtue, and of a Readiness to oblige and serve all persons, that has scarce any measures: His Sermons have a sublimity in them, that strikes the Hearer, as well as it edifies him: His Thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the Chair in it, tempered with all the Softness of Persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over them. In such Company it was no wonder, if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a concern, that I could not have felt in leaving any place, out of the *Isla of Britain*.

From Geneva, I went a second time through *Switzerland* to *Basil*: at *Auanche* I saw the Noble Fragments of a great Roman Work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple: the Heads of the Pillars are about four foot square, of the *Ionick Order*; the Temple hath been dedicated to *Neptune*, or some Sea-god: for on the fragments of the *Architrave*, which are very beautiful, there are *Dolphins* and *Sea-horses* in Bas Reliefs; and the Neighbourhood of the place to the *Lakes of Iverdun* and *Morat* maketh this more evident: there is also a Pillar standing up in its full height, or rather the Corner of a Building, in which one seeth the Rests of a regular Architecture in two ranks of Pillars: If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more Rests of that Fabrick. Not far from this is *Morat*; and a little on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the Bones of the *Burgundians*, that were killed by the *Switzers*, when this place was besieged by the famous *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, who lost a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the besieged; the Inscription is very extraor-

extraordinary, especially for that Age: for the bones being so piled up, that the *Chappel* is quite filled with them, the Inscription bears, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army* having besieged *Morat*, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views *Morat*, to imagine how it was possible for a Town so situated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a Prince, and so great an Army, that brought Cannon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and *Basil*, except that I staid sometime at *Bern*, and knew it better; and at this second time it was, that My Lord *Advocate d'Erlach* gave Order to shew me the Original Records of the famous Process of the four Dominicans; upon which I have retouched the Letter that I writ to you last year, so that I now send it to you with the Corrections and enlargements, that this second stay at *Bern* gave me occasion to make.

Basil. *Basil* is the Town of the greatest extent of all *Switzerland*, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The *Rhine* maketh a Crook before it; and the Town is situated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the Eye, when one is on the Bridge; for it looketh like a *Theater*. Little *Basil* on the other side of the *Rhine*, is almost a fourth part of the whole: the Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is so exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadful a Neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the *Fort of Hummingen*, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanely speaking, but its Union with the other *Cantons*. The Maxims of this *Canton* have hindered its being better peopled than it is; the Advantages of the *Burgership* are such, that the *Citizens* will not share them with *Strangers*, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told, that during the last War, that *Alsatia* was so often the Seat of both Armys, *Basil* having then a Neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this Maxim. And it were a great Happiness to all the *Cantons*, if they could have

have different Degrees of *Burgership*, so that the lower Degrees might be given to *Strangers* for their Encouragement to come and live among them: and the higher Degrees, which qualify Men for the advantageous Employments of the State, might be reserved for the *Ancient Families* of the *Natives*. *Basil* is divided into sixteen *Companies*, and every one of these hath four Members in the little Council, so that it consisteth of sixty four: But of those four, two are chosen by the Company it self, who are called the *Masters*, and the other two are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus as there are two sorts of *Councillors*, chosen in those different manners, there are also two chief *Magistrates*. There are two *Burgomasters*, that Reign by turns, and two *Zunft-Masters*, that have also their turns, and all is for life; and the last are the *Heads* of the *Companies*, like the *Romans Tribunes* of the *People*. The *Fabrick* of the *State House* is ancient; there is very good painting in *fresco* upon the Walls; one piece hath given much offence to the *Papists*, so they have no Reason to blame the *Reformation* for it, since it was done several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a Representation of the *Day of Judgement*, and after sentence given, the *Devil* is represented driving many before him to *Hell*, and among these there is a *Pope*, and several *Ecclesiasticks*. But it is believed, that the Council, which sat so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the *Pope*, engaged the Town into such a hatred to the *Papacy*, that this might give the rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the Custom in *Basil* of the *Clocks* anticipating the time a full Hour, to the sitting of the Council, and they say, that in order to the Advancing of business, and shortning their *Sessions*, they ordered their *Clocks* to be set forward an Hour, which continueth to this day. The *Cathedral* is a great old *Gothick Building*; the Chamber where the Council sat, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: *Erasmus's Tomb* is only plain *Inscription* upon a great *Brass Plate*: There are many

many of *Holbens's Pictures* here, who was a native of *Basil*, and was recommended by *Erasmus* to King *Henry* the VIII. the two best are a *Corpo or Christ Dead*, which is certainly one of the best *Pictures* in the World: There is another *Piece* of his in the *Stadt-House* (for this is in the *publick Library*) of about three or four foot square, in which, in six several *Cantons*, the several parts of our *Saviours Passion* are represented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at *ten thousand Crowns*; it is on *Wood*, but hath that Freshness of colour still on it, that seems particular to *Holbens's Pencil*. There is also a *Dance*, that he painted on the *Walls* of an *House* where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except shapes and Postures: but these shew the exquisiteness of the *Haud*. There is another longer *Dance*, that runneth all along the side of the *Convent* of the *Augustinians*, which is now the *French Church*, which is *Deaths Dance*; there are above threescore *Figures* in it at full length, of *Persons* of all ranks, from *Popes*, *Emperors* and *Kings*, down to the meanest sorts of *People*, and of all *Ages* and *Professions*, to whom *Death* appeareth in an insolent and surprizing posture; and the several *Passions* that they express; are so well set out, that this was certainly a great design. But the *Fresco* being exposed to the *Air*, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best *Painter* they had to lay new Colours on it; but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead shadows of *Holbens's Pencil*, than this coarse work. There is in *Basil* a *Gun-Smith*, that maketh *Wind-Guns*, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once *Air* for *ten shot*, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own *Invention*, that he can *Discharge* all the *Air* that can be parcelled out in *ten shot at once*, to give a home blow. I confess those are terrible *Instruments*, and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to *Assassinate Persons* so dextrously, that neither *Noise* nor *Fire* will discover from what hand the *Shot* comes. The *Library* of *Basil* is

such the best in all *Switzerland*, there is a fine collection of *Medals* in it, and a very handsome *Library* of *Manuscripts*; the *Room* is Noble, and disposed in a very good Method. Their *Manuscripts* are chiefly, the *Latin Fathers*, or *Latin Translations* of the *Greek Fathers*; some good *Bibles*; they have the *Gospel* in *Greek Capitals*, but they are vitiously writ in many places; there is an infinite number of the *Writers* of the darker Ages, and there are *Legends* and *Sermons* without number. All the Books that were in the several *Monasteries*, at the time of the *Reformation*, were carefully preserved; and they believe, that the *Bishops* who sat here in the *Council*, brought with them a great many *Manuscripts* which they never carried away. Among their *Manuscripts*, I saw four of *Huss's* Letters, that he writ to the *Bohemians* the day before his death, which are very devout, but excessively simple. The *Manuscripts* of this *Library* are far more numerous than those of *Bern*, which were gathered by *Bongarsius*, and left by him to the publick *Library* there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw: But it is a Noble Collection of all the ancient *Latin Authors*; they have some few of the best of the *Roman times*, writ in great *Characters*, and there are many that are seven or eight hundred *Years* old. There is in *Basil* one of the best collections of *Medals* that ever I saw in private hands; together with a Noble *Library*, in which there are *Manuscripts* of good antiquity, that belongs to the *Family* of *Fesch*, and that goeth from one learned man of the *Family* to another; for this *Inheritance* can only pass to a man of Learning, and when the *Family* produceth none, then it is to go to the publick. In *Basil*, as the several *Companies* have been more or less strict, in admitting some to a *Freedom* in the *Company*, that have not been of the *Trade*, so they retain their *Privileges* to this day. For in such *Companies*, that have once received such a number that have not been of the *Trade*, grew to be the majority, the *Trade* hath never been able to recover their *Interest*. But some *Companies* have been

more cautions, and have never admitted any but those that were of the *Trade*, so that they retain their *Interest* still in *Government*. Of these the *Butchers* were named for one, so that there are alwayes four *Butchers* in the *Council*. The great *Council* consisteth of *two hundred and forty*, but they have no power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions; when the *little Council* thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six *Bailiages* that belong to *Basil*, which are not employments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the *Bailif* only a thousand *Livres* a *Year*: They reckon that there are in *Basil* three thousand *Men* that can bear *Arms*, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the *Canton*; so that the *Town* is almost the half of this *State*, and the whole maketh thirty *Parishes*. There are eighteen *Professors* in this *University*; and there is a Spirit of more free and generous *Learning* stirring there, than I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of *Habits* in *Basil*; and the Garb both of the *Councillors*, *Ministers* and *Professors*, their *stiff Ruffs*, and their *long Beards*, have an Air that is August: The appointments are but small for *Councillors*; *Ministers* and *Professors*, have but a hundred *Crowns* apiece: It is true, many *Ministers* are *Professors*, so this mendeth the matter a little: But perhaps it would go better with the *State* of *Learning* there, if they had but half the number of *Professors*, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of *St. Paul* [of *Womens* having on their heads the Badge of the Authority under which they are brought, which by a phrase that is not extraordinary he calleth *Power*] better observed than at *Basil*; for all the *Married Women* go to *Church* with a *Coif* on their *Heads*, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their *Eyes*, so another folding covereth also their *Mouth* and *Chin*, so that nothing but the *Nose* appears, and then all turns backward in a folding, that hangeth down to their midleg. This is alwaies

White; so that there is there such a sight of *White Heads* in their Churches, as cannot be found any where else: The *Unmarried Women* wear *Hats*, turned up in the brims before and behind; and the brims of the sides being about a foot broad, stand out far on both hands: This fashion is also at *Strasburg*, and is worn there also by the *Married Women*.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this Place is exposed, from the neighbourhood of *Hanningen*; I was told, that at first it was pretended, that the *French King* intended to build only a small *Fort* there, and it was believed, that one of the *Burgomasters* of *Basil*, who was thought not only the wisest man of that *Canton*, but of all *Switzerland*, was gained to lay all men asleep, and to assure them; that the suffering this *Fort* to be built so near them, was of no importance to them; but now they see too late their fatal Error: For the place is great, and will hold a *Garrison* of three or four thousand *Men*; it is a *Pentagone*, only the side to the *Rhine* is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been a *Hexagone*; the *Bastions* have all *Orillons*, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with earth, where there is a *Magazine* built so thick in the *Vault*, that it is proof against *Bombs*: The *Ramparts* are strongly faced; There is a large *Ditch*, and before the *Cortine*, in the middle of the *Ditch*, there runs all along a *Horn-work*, which is burthened twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the *Rampart*, there goeth a *Vault* to this *Horn-work*, that is for conveying of men for its defence; before this *Horn-work* there is a *half Moon*, with this that is peculiar to those new *Fortifications*, that there is a *Ditch* that cuts the *half Moon* in an *Angle*, and maketh one *half Moon* within another; beyond that there is a *Counter-scarp* about twelve foot high above the *Water*, with a covered *Way*, and a *Glacé* designed, tho not executed; there is also a great *Horn-work* besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its *Out-works* towards *Basil*; there is al-

So a *Bridge* laid over the *Rhine*, and there being an *Island* in the *River*, where the *Bridge* is laid, there is a *Fort* that filleth and fortieth it. The *Buildings* in this *Fort* are beautiful, and the *Square* can hold above four thousand *Men*; the *Works* are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest places in *Europe*: There is a *Cavelier* on one or two of the *Bastions*, and there are *half Moons* before the *Bastions*, so that the *Swizzers* see their danger now, when it is not easy to redress it. This place is situated in a great *Plain*, so that it is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little *Tour* into *Alsace*, as far as *Mountbéliard*; the *Soil* is extream rich, but it hath been so long a *Frontier Country*; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places over-grown with *Woods*. In one respect it is fit to be the seat of *War*, for it is full of *Iron-works*, which bring a great deal of *Money* into the *Country*. I saw nothing peculiar in the *Iron-Works* there (except that the sides of the great *Bellows* were not of *Leather*, but of *Wood*; which saves much money) so I will not stand to describe them. The *River* of the *Rhine*, all from *Basil* to *Spire*, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with *Woods*, that one that cometh down in a *Boat* hath no sight of the *Country*: The *River* runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such *woods* could preserve its *Banks*, and even these are not able to save them quite; for the *Trees* are often washed away by the very *Roots*, so that in many places those *Trees* ly along in the *Channel* of the *River*: It hath been also thought a sort of a *Fortification*, to both sides of the *River*, to have it thus faced with *Woods*, which maketh the passing of *Men* dangerous, when they must march for some time after their passage through a *defilé*. The first night from *Basil* we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable *Town*, but it is a noble *Fortification*, and hath on the *West* side of the *River*, over which a *Bridge* is laid, a regular *Fort* of four or five *Bastions*. The *Town* of *Brisac* riseth all on a *Hill*, which is a considerable height; there were near

two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many Miles is plain, so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a Prospect, all the motions of an Enemy in case of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compass, above a French League, indeed almost a German League; the Bastions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with Brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them; the Counterscarp, the covered Way, which hath a Palisade, with the Parapet, and the Glacy, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the Bastions have no Orillons except one or two, and the Cortines are so disposed, that a good part of them defend the Bastion. The Garrison of this Place in time of War must needs be eight or ten thousand Men; there hath not been much done of late to this place, only the Ditch is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the Flanks of the Bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is Strasburg; it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it: the inner Wall is old, and of no strength, nor is the outward Wall very good; it hath a Faussebraye, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counterscarp is in an ill condition, so that the Town was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Cittadel built on that side that goeth towards the Rhine, that is much such a Fort as that of Hunningen, and on the side of the Cittadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work, that runs out a great way with Out-works belonging to it; there are also small Forts at the two chief Gates that lead to Alsace; by which the City is so bridled, that these can cut off all its communication with the Country about in case of a Revolt: the Bridge is also well fortified; there are also Forts in some Islands in the Rhine, and some Redoubts: so that all round this place, there is one of the greatest Fortifications that is in Europe.

Hitherto the *Capitulation*, with relation to *Religion*, hath been well kept, and there is so small a number of new *Converts*, and these are for the greatest part so inconsiderable, they not being in all above two hundred, as I was told, that if they do not imploy the *new-fashioned* Missionaries à la *Dragonné*, the *old ones* are not liketo have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, tho they are *Jesuites*. The *Lutherans* for the greatest part retain their Animosities almost to an equal degree both against *Papists* and *Calvinists*. I was in their Church, where, if the *Musick* of their *Psalms* pleased me much, the *Irreverence* in *singing*, it being free to keep on, or put off the *Hat*, did appear very strange to me: The Churches are full of *Pictures*, in which the chief passages of our *Saviour's* Life are represented; but there is no sort of religious respect pay'd them, they bow when they name the *Holy Ghost*, as well as at the Name of *Jesus*: but they have not the *Ceremonies* that the *Lutherans* of *Saxony* use, which *Mr. Bebel*, their *Professor* of Divinity, said was a great happiness; for a similitude in outward Rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people both of the *Lutheran Ministers* and others, acknowledge, that there was such a Corruption of Morals spread over the whole City, that as they had justly drawn down on their heads the Plague of the loss of their Liberty, so this having toucht them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes: 'One seeth, in the ruin of this City, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an *Imperial Garrison* come within their Town: for if they had received only five hundred men, as that small number would not have been able to have oppress'd their Liberties, so it would have so secured the Town, that the *French* could not have besieged it, without making *War* on the *Empire*: but the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a *Garrison* of three thousand *Souldiers*, which as it exhausted their *Revenue*, and

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brought them under great Taxes, so it proved too weak for their defence when the *French Army* came before them. The Town begins to sink in its Trade, notwithstanding the great circulation of Money that the expence of the *Fortifications* hath brought to it: but when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly; for it is impossible for a *Place of Trade*, that is to have alwayes eight orten thousand *Souldiers* in it, to continue long in a Flourishing State. There was a great Animosity between two of the chief *Families* of the Town, *Dietrick* and *Obrecht*; the former was the *Burgomaster*, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him: but he turned the tide, and got such an advantage against *Obrecht*, who had writ somewhat against the Conduct of their Affairs, that he was Condemned and Beheaded for writing libels against the Government. His Son is a learned man, and was *Professor* of the *Civil Law*: and he to have his turn of revenge against *Dietrick*, went to *Paris* last Summer; and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. *Dietrick* had been alwayes looked on as one of the chief of the *French Faction*, tho he had been at first an *Imperialist*, so it was thought, that he should have been well rewarded; yet it was expected, that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion; but he was an ancient man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate: so without any reason given, and against the expresse words of the *Capitulation*, he was confined to one of the midland *Provinces* of *France*, as I remember, it was *Limosin*, and thus he; that hath been thought the chief cause of this Town's falling under the power of the *French*, is the first man that hath felt the effects of it. The Library here is considerable; The Case is a great Room, very well contrived; for it is divided into *Closets* all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a *Gallery*, and in these *Closets* all round there are the *Books* of the several Professions lodged apart: There is one for *Manuscripts*, in which there are some of considerable *Antiquity*. I need say nothing

to you of the vast height, and the *Gothick Architecture* of the *Steeple* and of the great *Church*, nor of the curious *Clock*, where there is so vast a variety of motions; for these are well known. The *Bas Reliefs* upon the Tops of the great *Pillars* of the *Church* are not so visible, but they are surprizing; for this being a *Fabrick* of three or four hundred years old, it is very strange to see such Representations as are there. There is a *Procession* represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the *Holy Water*, and *Asses* and *Hogs* in *Priestly Vestments* follow to make up the *Procession*; there is also an *Ass* standing before an *Altar*, as if he were going to *Consecrate*, and one carrieth a Case with *Reliques*, within which one seeth a *Fox*; and the *Trains* of all that go in this *Procession*, are carried up by *Monkies*. This seems to have been made in hatred of the *Monks*, whom the *Secular Clergy* abhorred at that time, because they had drawn the *Wealth*, and the following of the *World* after them, and they had exposed the *Secular Clergy*, so much for their ignorance, that it is probable after some Ages, the *Monks* falling under the same contempt, the *Secular Clergy* took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a Representation to the Scorn of the *World*. There is also in the *Pulpit* a *Nun* cut in *Wood*, lying along, and a *Fryer* lying near her with his *Breviary* open before him, and his hand under the *Nuns* habit, and the *Nuns* feet are shod with iron shoes. I confess, I did not look for these things; for I had not heard of them; but my Noble Friend Mr. *Ablancourt* viewed them with great exactness, while he was the *French Kings* Resident at *Strasburg*, in the company of one of the *Magistrates* that waited on him; and it is upon his credit, to which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From *Strasburg* we went down the *Rhine* to *Philipsburg*, which lyeth at a quarter of a Miles distance from the *River*; it is but a small place, the *Bastions* are but little: there is a *Ravellin* before almost all the *Cortines*, and there ly such *Marishes* all round it, that in these lyeth
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the chief strength of the place. The *French* had begun a great *Crown-work* on the side that lyeth to the *Rhine*, and had cast out a *Horn-work* beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that *Crown-work* quite round the *Town*, and to make a second *Wall* and *Ditch* all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compals capable enough to lodge above ten thousand Men: and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the *Palatinate*, and all *Franconia*, that it was a Master-piece in *Charles Lewis*, the late *Elector Palatine*, to ingage the *Empire* into this *Siege*. He saw well, how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the *French*, so that he took great care to have the *Duke of Lorrain's Camp* so well supplied with all things necessary, during the *Siege*, that the *Army* lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence in three Hours time we came to *Spire*, which is so naked a *Town*, that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The *Town* is neither great nor rich, and subsisted chiefly by the *Imperial Chamber* that sitteth here, tho there is a constant dispute between the *Town* and the *Chamber* concerning *Privileges*; for the *Government* of the *Town*, pretends, that the *Judges* of the *Chamber*, as they are private men, and out of the *Court of Judicature*, are subject to them; and so about a year ago they put one of the *Judges* in Prison: on the other hand, the *Judges* pretend, that their persons are sacred. It was the consideration of the *Chamber* that procured to the *Town* the *Neutrality* that they enjoyed all the last *War*. I thought to have seen the forms of this *Court*, and the way of laying up, and preserving their *Records*, but the *Court* was not then sitting. The *Building*, the *Halls* and *Chambers* of this famous *Court* are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the *Halls* of some small Company, than of so great a body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their *Archives*; The *Government* of the *City* is all *Lutheran*; but not only the *Cathedral* is in the hands of the *Bishop* and *Chapter*, but

there are likewise several *Convents* of both *Sexes*; and the *Jesuites* have also a *Colledge* there. There is little remarkable in the *Cathedral*, which is a huge building in the *Gothick* manner, of the worst sort. The *Tombs* of many *Emperors*, that ly buried there, are remarkable for their meanness; they being only great *Flagstones* layed on some small *Stone-ballisters* of a foot and a half high: There are also the marks of a ridiculous *Fable* concerning *St. Bernard*, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the *Gate* all along the *Nef* of the *Church* up to the *Steps* that go up to the *Quire*, four round *Plates* of *Brass*, above a foot *Diameter*, and at the distance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the pavement; on the first of these is ingraven, *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*, and on the fourth, *Maria*: The last is about thirty foot distant from a *Statue* of the *Virgins*: so they say that *St. Bernard* came up the whole length of the *Church* at *Four Steps*, and that those four *Plates* were laid where he *stept*: and that at every *Step* he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the *Plate*; and when he came to the last, the *Image* of the *Virgin* answered him, *Salve Bernarde*, upon which he answered, *Let a Woman keep silence in the Church*; and that the *Virgins Statue* has kept silence ever since; This last part of the *Story* is certainly very credible. He was a *Man of Learning* that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least that he had a mind to make me believe it: and I asked him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there, he told me, that one had lately writ a *Book* to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a *Jesuit*: He acknowledged, it was not an *Article of Faith*; so I was satisfied. There is in the *Cloister* an old *Gothick* Representation of our *Saviours Agony* in stone, with a great many *Figures* of his *Ap'stles*, and the *Company* that came to seize him, that is not ill *Sculpture*, for the

Age in which it was made, It being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not considerable. I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library, that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries, to whom I address'd my self, being, according to the German Custom, a Man of greater Quality than Learning, told me, he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of it; and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them; for he kept one of the Keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest Countreys of all Germany: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of Heidelberg: the Town is ill situated, just in a bottom, between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended: I need say nothing of the Castle, nor the prodigious Wine-Cellar, in which, tho there is but one celebrated Tun, that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength liker that of the ribs of a ship, than the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary, if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late Prince Charles Lewis shew'd his capacity in the peopling and settling this State, that had been so intirely ruined, being for many Years the Seat of War; for in four years time he brought it to a Flourishing condition: He rais'd the Taxes as high as was possible without dispeopling his Country, all mens Estates were valued, and they were taxed at five per cent of the value of their Estates; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of Subsidies; so that when his Son offer'd to bring the Taxes down to two per Cent of the real value, the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute than the Elector Palatine; for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And here I saw that which I had alwayes believed to be true,

that the *Subjects of Germany* are only bound to their particular *Princes*; for they swear *Allegiance* singly to the *Elector*, without any reserve for the *Emperour*; and in their *Prayers* for him, they name him their *Sovereign*. It is true, the *Prince* is under some ties to the *Emperour*; but the *Subjects* are under none. And by this *D. Fabritius*, a learned and judicious *Professor* there, explained those words of *Pareus's* Commentary on the *Romans*, which had respect only to the *Princes* of the *Empire*: and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favoured *Rebellion*, for there is no place in *Europe* where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down than there. I found a great spirit of Moderation, with relation to those small *Controversies*, that have occasioned such heat in the *Protestant Churches*, reigning in the *University* there, which is in a great measure owing to the Prudence, the Learning, and the happy Temper of Mind of *D. Fabritius*, and *D. Mick*: who as they were long in *England*, so they have that generous largeness of Soul, which is the Noble Ornament of many of the *English Divines*; *Prince Charles Lewis* saw that *Manheim* was marked out by Nature to be the most important place of all his *Territory*, it being situated in the point where the *Neckar* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that those two Rivers defending it on two sides; it was capable of a good *Fortification*: It is true, the *Air* is not thought wholesome, and the *Water* is not good, yet he made a fine *Town* there, and a Noble *Citadel*, with a regular *Fortification* about it; and he designed a great *Palace* there, but he did not live to build it. He saw of what advantage *Liberty of Conscience* was to the peopling of his *Country*; so as he suffered the *Jews* to come and settle there, he resolved also not only to suffer the three *Religions*, tolerated by the *Laws* of the *Empire*, to be professed there, but he built a *Church* for them all three, which he called the *Church of the Concord*, in which both *Catholics*, *Lutherans* and *Papists* had, in the order in which I have set them down, the exercise of their *Religion*; and he maintained the peace of his *Principalty* so intirely, that there

there was not the least Disorder occasioned by this Toleration: This indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were Injust if I should not say somewhat to you, of the Princely Vertues and the Celebrated Probity of the present Pr. Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolved by the extinction of so many Princes; that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that rank in Europe. This Prince, as he is in many respects an honour to the Religion that he professes; so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the Promises he made his Subjects with relation to their Religion, in which he has not (even in the smallest matters) broke in upon their established Laws; and tho an Order of Men, that have turned the world up-side down, have great credit with him, yet it is hitherto visible, that they cannot carry it so far as to make him do any thing contrary to the established Religion; and to those sacred Promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the world, that he does not consider those, as so many words spoken at first to lay his people asleep, which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but as so many Ties upon his Conscience and Honour, which he will Religiously observe. And as in the other parts of his Life, he has set a Noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe, so his exactness to his Promises, is that which cannot be too much commended: of which this extraordinary Instance has been communicated to me since I am come into this Country. The Elector had a Procession in his Court last Corpus Christi day, upon which one of the Ministers of Heidelberg preached a very severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular taxed that Procession perhaps with greater plainness than discretion: This being brought to the Electors Ears, he sent presently an Order to the Ecclesiastical Senate to suspend him. That Court is composed of some

Secular men and some *Churchmen*, and as the *Princes Authority* is delegated to them, so they have a sort of an *Episcopal jurisdiction* over all the *Clergy*: This *Order* was a surprise to them, as being a direct breach upon their *Laws* and the liberty of their *Religion*: so they sent a *Deputation* to *Court*, to let the *Elector* know the reasons that hindered them from obeying his *Orders*, which were heard with so much Justice and Gentleness, that the *Prince*, instead of expressing any Displeasure against them, recalled the *Order* that he had sent them. The way from *Heidelberg* to *Frankfort*, is, for the first twelve or fifteen *Miles*, the beautifullest piece of ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little *Hills* that are all covered with *Vines*, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful *Plain* of Cornfields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed with rows of *Trees*, so that I fancied I was in *Lombardy* again, but with this advantage, that here all was not of a piece, as it is in *Lombardy*; but the *Hills*, as they made a pleasant inequality in the prospect, so they made the *Air* purer, and produced a pleasant *Wine*: The way near *Darmstat*, and all forwards to *Frankfort*, becometh more wild and more sandy: There is a good *Suburb* on the South-side of the *Main* over against *Frankfort*, which hath a very considerable *Fortification*; there is a double *Wall*, and a double *Ditch*, that goeth round it; and the outward *Wall*, as it is regularly fortified, so it is faced with *Brick* to a considerable height. The *Town* of *Frankfort* is of a great extent, and seemed to be but about a third part less than *Strasburg*: The three *Religions* are also tolerated there; and tho the number of the *Papists* is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great *Church*, which is a huge rude building; they have also several other *Churches*, and some *Convents* there. There are several open *Squares* for Market places, and the *Houses* about them look very well without. Among their *Archives* they preserve the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*; that which is shewed to Strangers, is only a great Parchment writ in *High Dutch*; but the Original is preserved with more Care

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and is in *Latin*: yet since I made a short stay there, I was not at the Pains of desiring to see it; for that is not obtained without difficulty. The *Lutherans* have here built a new Church, called *St. Katherines*, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any *Popish Church*; and over the high Altar there is an huge carved *Cruifix*, as there are painted ones in other places of their Church: The Pulpit is extream fine, of *Marble* of different colours, very well polished and joyned. I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing; but I liked one thing that I saw both at *Strasburg* and here, that at the end of Prayers, there was a considerable interval of silence left, before the conclusion, for all peoples private Devotions. In the House of their publick Discipline, they retain still the old *Roman Pistina* or *Hand-mill*; at which lewd Women are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the *Milstones* go. There is a great number of *Jews* there, tho their two *Synagogues* are very little, and by consequence, the Numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told, they were in all above twelve hundred. The Women had the most of a tawdry *Imbroidery* of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw; for they had all Mantles of Crape, and both about the top and the bottom, there was a border above a hand breadth of *Imbroidery*. The Fortification of *Frankfort* is considerable; their Ditch is very broad, and very full of Water; all the Bastions have a *Countermine*, that runneth along by the brim of the Ditch; but the *Counterscarp* is not faced with Brick as the Walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered Way and Glacy are also in an ill case: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade, and is very pleasantly situated. Not far from hence is *Hockam*, that yieldeth the best Wine of those parts. Since I took *Frankfort* in my way from *Heidelberg* to *Mentz*, I could not pass by *Worms*, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where *Luther* made his first appearance before the *Empe our*, and the Diet, and in that solemn Audience expressed an undaunted Zeal for

for that *Glorious Cause* in which God made him such a blessed *Instrument*. I had another piece of Curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a *Picture*, that as I was told, is over one of the *Popish Altars* there, which one would think was Invented by the Enemies of *Transubstantiation*, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a *Windmill*, and the *Virg* in throws *Christ* into the *Hopper*, and he comes out at the *Eye* of the *Miln* all in *Wafers*, which some *Priests* take up to give to the *People*. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think it too gross even for *Laplanders*; but a man that can swallow *Transubstantiation* it self, will digest this likewise. *Mentz* is very nobly situated, on a rising ground. a little below the conjunction of the two *Rivers*, the *Rhine* and the *Main*; it is of too great a compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great defence: there is a *Cittadel* upon the highest part of the *Hill* that commandeth the *Town*; it is compassed about with a dry *Ditch*, that is considerably deep. The *Walls* of the *Town* are faced with *Brick*, and regularly fortified, but the *Counterescarp* is not faced with *Brick*, so all is in a sad condition; and the *Fortification* is weakest on that side where the *Electors Palace* is. There is one side of a new *Palace* very nobly built in a regular *Architecture*, only the *Germans* do still retain somewhat of the *Gothick* manner; It is of a great length, and the design is to build quite round the *Court*, and then it will be a very magnificent *Palace*, only the *Stone* is red: for all the *Quarries* that are upon the *Rhine*, from *Basil* down to *Coblentz*, are of red stone, which doth not look beautiful. The *Elect*or of *Mentz* is an absolute *Prince*: his *Subjects* present *Lists* of their *Magistrates* to him, but he is not tied to them, and may name whom he will. The Ancient *Demeas*n of the *Electorat* is about forty thousand *Crowns*: but the *Taxes* rise to about three hundred thousand *Crowns*; so that the *Subjects* here are as heavily taxed as in the *Palatinat*: There is twelve thousand *Crowns* a year given the *Elect*or for his privy Purse, and the *State* bears the rest of

whole expence: It can Arm ten thousand Men, and
 there is a *Garrison* of two thousand Men in *Mentz*: this
Elector hath three *Councils*, one as he is *Chancellour* of
 the *Empire*, consisting of three persons: The other two
 are for the *Policy* and *Justice* of his *Principality*. He, and
 his *Chapter* have *Months* by turns for the Nomination of
 the *Prebends*. In the Month of *January* he names if any
 dies, and they chuse in the Room of such as dye in *Fe-*
bruary, and so all the year round. The *Prebendaries* or
Dome-Heers have about three thousand *Crowns* a year a-
 piece. When the *Elector* dieth, the *Emperor* sendeth one
 to see the *Election* made, and he recommendeth one, but
 the *Canons* may chuse whom they please; and the present
Elector was not of the *Emperors* Recommendation. Be-
 sides the *Palace* at *Mentz*, the *Elector* hath another near
Frankfort, which is thought the best that is in those parts
 of *Germany*: The *Cathedral* is a huge *Gothick* Building;
 there is a great *Cupul* in the West-end, and there the
Bishop singeth *Mass*: I could not learn whether this was
 done only because the place here was of greater reception
 than at the East-end, or if any burying place and indow-
 ment obliged them to the West-end. Near the *Cathedral*
 there is a huge *Chappel* of great Antiquity, and on the
North Door there are two great *Brass Gates* with a long
Inscription, which I had not time to write out, but I
 found it was in the *Emperor Lotharius's* time. There are a
 vast number of *Churches* in this *Town*, but it is poor and
 ill inhabited. The *Rhine* here is almost half an *English mile*
 broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats lay'd over it. From
Mentz all along to *Baccharach* (which seems to carry its
 name [*Bacchi Ara*] from some famous *Altar* that the Ro-
 mans probably erected by reason of the good *Wine* that
 grows in the Neighbourhood.) There is a great number
 of very considerable *Villages* on both sides of the *River*:
 Here the *Rats Tower* is shewed, and the *People* of the
Country do all firmly believe the *Story* of the *Rats* eating
 an *Elector*, and that tho he fled to this *Island*, where
 he built a small high *Tower*, they pursued him still, and
 swam.

swimmed after him, and eat him up: and they told us, that there were some of his *Bones* to be seen still in the *Tower*. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of Death, that carried off a poor *Labourer* of the ground a few dayes before I left *Geneva*. The Foot of one of his *Cattel*, as he was ploughing, went into a *Nest of Wasps*, upon which the whole *Swarm* came out, and set upon him that held the *Plow*, and killed him in a very little time; and his *Body* was prodigiously swelled with the *poison* of so many *Stings*. But to return to the *Rhine*; all the way from *Bacharach* down to *Coblentz*, there is on both sides of the *River* hanging Grounds, or little *Hills*, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich *Rhenish Wine*. They are indeed as well exposed to the *Sun*, and covered from *Storms*, as can be imagined: and the Ground on those *Hills*, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement, and this bringeth so much *Wealth* into the *Counrry*, that all along there is a great number of considerable *Villages*. *Coblentz* is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the *Empire*; the situation is Noble, the *Rhine* running before it, and the *Moselle* passing along the side of the *Town*; it is well fortified, the *Ditch* is large, the *Counterscarp* is high, and the covered *Way* is in a good Condition, both *Wall* and *Counterscarp* are faced with *Brick*, and there are *Ravelines* before the *Cortines*; but on the side of the *Moselle* it is very slightly fortified, and there is no *Fort* at the end of the *Stone Bridge* that is laid over the *Moselle*, so that it lieth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence. But tho the *Fortifications* of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the *Fort of Hermanstan*, which is built on the top of a very high *Hill*; that lyeth on the other side of the *Rhine*; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of *Hermanstan*, is alwayes Master of *Coblentz*. This belongeth to the *Electo* of *Triers*, who

Palace lyeth on the East side of the *Rhine*, just at the Foot of the Hill of *Hermanstan*, and over against the point where the *Moselle* falleth into the *Rhine*, so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness, that there is not Room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the *River*, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say, we were told, for the German Princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the Palace at *Mentz*, nor this of *Hermanstan*. It is but a few hours from this to *Bonne*, where the *Elector of Collen* kept his Court: The Place hath a regular Fortification; the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is pretty broad, the Counterscarp is in so ill a condition that it is not able to make a great defence. This *Elector* is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the Great *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*; and besides *Collen*, he hath *Liege*, *Munster*, and *Hildelsheim*, which are all great Bishopricks: He hath been also six and thirty years in the *Electorate*: His Palace is very mean, consisting but of one Court; the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood-yard in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a Stable: but he hath made an Apartment here, that is all furnished with Pictures; where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many foils to these off, that are scarce good enough for Signposts.

The *Elector* has a great many Gold Medalls, which will give me occasion to tell you one of the Extravagantest pieces of Forgery that perhaps ever was; which hapned to be found out at the last siege of *Bonne*: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they discovered a Vault, in which there was an Iron chest that was full of Medalls of Gold to the value of 100000 Crowns; and which I was told the *Elector* bought to the value of 30000 Crowns.

Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800. *Ducats* and the *Gold* was of the fineness of *Ducat Gold*: but tho they bore the Impressions of *Roman Medalls*, or rather *Medaillons*, they were all *Counterfeit*, and the imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extremely Ignorant in *Medalls* to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true, were of the late *Greek Emperors*. Now it is very unaccountable, what could induce a man to make a forgery upon such *Mettle*, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much *Gold* was ten times the value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The *Prince* went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handsome *Guard* of about fourscore *Horse*, well mounted; so we saw the *Palace*; but were not suffered to see the *Apartment* where he lodged: There is a great *Silver Casquette* gilt, all set with *Emeralds* and *Rubies*, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the *Princes* own making: His Officers also shewed us a *Basin* and *Emer*, which they said were of *Mercury* fixed by the *Prince* himself; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his *Laboratory*. I did not easily believe this, and as the weight of the *Plate* did not approach to that of *Quick-Silver*, so the Medicinal Vertues of fixed *Mercury* (if there is any such thing) are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty pound of it made up in two pieces of *Plate*. A quarter of a mile without the *Town*, the best *Garden* of those parts of *Germany* is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of *Water-works*, and very many Noble *Allies* in the *French* manner, and the whole is of a very considerable extent; but as it hath no *Statues* of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lyeth, is in Ruins: and it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a *Prince*, during so long a *Regency*, hath done so little to enlarge or beautifie his Buildings. *Bonne* and *Collogneblantz* are both poor and small Towns. *Collogne* is three

hours distant from *Bonne*, it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the *Walls* are all in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortify so vast a compass as this *Town* maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole *Wealth* of this *little State*. The *Jews* live in a little *Suburb* on the other side of the *River*, and may not come over, without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no Exercise of the *Protestants Religion* suffered within the *Town*, but those of the *Religion* are suffered to live there, and they have a *Church* at two miles distance. The *Arsenal* here, is suitable to the *Fortifications*; very mean, and ill furnished. The *Quire* of the *Great Church* is as high in the roof, as any *Church* I ever saw; but it seemes the *Wealth* of this place could not finish the whole *Fabrick*, so as to answer the height of the *Quire*; for the *Body* of the *Church* is very low: Those that are disposed to believe *Legends*, have enough here to overset even a good degree of *Credulity*, both in the *Story* of the *Three Kings*, whose *Chappel* is visited with great *Devotion*, and standeth at the *East end* of the *Great Quire*; and in that more copious *Fable* of the eleven thousand *Ursulins*, whose *Church* is all over full of rough *Tombs*, and of a vast number of *Bones*, that are piled up in rows about the *Walls* of the *Church*: These *Fables* are so firmly believed by the *Papists* there, that the least sign which giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible *Mark* of an *Heretick*. The *Jesuites* have a great and Noble *Collodge* and *Church* here. And for *Thauler's* sake I went to the *Dominicans House* and *Church*, which is also very great. One grows extream weary of walking over this great *Town*, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present Subject of their *Discourse* is also very melancholy: The late *Rebellion* that was there, is so generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the *Town*, by some *Incensarys*, that the *Magistrates* did

did eat up the *publick Revenue*, and were like to ruin the *City*; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports; for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some Foundation: It is certain, this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it; The *Magistrates* were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the *Town* to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it; and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the *Emperor* and *Diet* to judge the matter, having threatned to put the *Town* under the *Imperial Bann*, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the *Magistrates* again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief *Incendiaries* were clapt in *Prison*: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in *Prison*: they told us, that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. *Dusseldorp* is the first considerable *Town* below *Collen*, it is the Seat of the *Duke of Juliers*, who is *Duke of Newburgh*, eldest Son to the present *Elector Palatine*. The *Palace* is old and *Gothick* enough: but the *Jesuites* have there a fine *Colledge*, and a noble *Chappel*, tho there are manifest faults in the *Architecture*: the *Protestants Religion* is tolerated, and they have a *Church* built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the *Elector of Brandenburg*, who observing exactly the *Liberty of Religion* that was agreed to in *Cleve*, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his Neighbourhood, in favour of his own *Religion*. The *Fortification* here is very ordinary, the *Ramparts* being faced but a few foot high with *Brick*. But *Keiserswart*, some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the *Elector of Collen*, tho it is a much worse *Town* than *Dusseldorp*, yet is much better fortified: it hath a very broad *Ditch*, and a very regular *Fortification*: the *Walls* are considerably high, faced with *Brick*, and so is the *Counterscarp*, which is also in a very good Condition. The *Fortification* of *Orsoy*

Dusseldorp.

Keiserswart.

Orsoy.

From N I M M E G E N. 215

now quite demolished. Rhineberg continueth as it was *Rhineberg*
 but the *Fortification* is very mean, only of Earth, so that
 is not capable of making a great Resistance. And *Wesel*, *Wesel*.
 tho it is a very fine *Town*, yet is a very poor *Fortifica-*
tion, nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast
 expence: for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing
 can be made there that will be durable, unless the Foun-
 dation go very deep, or that it be laid upon *Pilosity*. In all
 these *Towns* one sees another air of Wealth and Abundance
 than in much richer *Countrys*, that are exhausted with
Taxes. *Rees* and *Emmerick* are good *Towns*, but the *Emmerick*
Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and a
 populous *Country*, that hath at present very little de-
 lence, except what it hath from its situation. *Cleve* *Cleve*
 is a delicious Place, the situation and prospect are char-
 ming, and the *Air* is very pure; and from thence we
 came hither in three hours. *Munster*

I will not say one word of the *Country* into which I am
 now come; for as I know that is needless to you on many
 accounts, so a *Picture* that I see here in the *Stadthouse*,
 puts me in mind of the perfectest *Book* of its kind that is
 perhaps in being; for *Sir William Temple*, whose *Picture*
 hangeth here at the upper end of the *Plenipotentiary*, that
 negotiated the famous *Treaty of Nimmegen*, hath indeed
 set a pattern to the World, which is done with such life,
 that it may justly make others blush to copy after it, since
 it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an
 account of the other *Places*, as he hath given us of one
 of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the *Uni-*
verse, *Travelling* would become a needless thing, unless
 it were for diversion: since one findeth no further occasion
 for his curiosity in this *Country*, than what is fully saris-
 fied by his rare performance; yet I cannot give over
 writing, without reflecting on the Resistance that this
 Place made, when so many other *Places* were so basely
 delivered up, tho one doth not see in the ruins of the
Fortification here, how it could make so long a resistance;
 yet it was that that stem'd the tide of a progress that made

all

all the World stand amazed; and it gave a little time to the *Dutch* to recover themselves out of the consternation into which so many blows, that came so thick one upon another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho' it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy conjunction of another *Prince* hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprizing *Scenes* in *History*, and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the *Roman State* after the *Battel of Canne*. When a young *Prince*, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a *Campagne*, who had little or no *Council* about him, but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage by his *Education*, either for *Literature* or *Affairs*, was of a sudden set at the *Head* of a *State* and *Army*, that was sunk with so many losses, and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it, and the powerfulllest *Enemy* in the World, surrounded with a *Victorious Army*, that was commanded by the best *Generals* that the *Age* had produced, come within sight, and settle his *Court* in one of its best *Towns*, and had at the same time the greatest force both by *Sea* and *Land*, that hath been known, united together for its destruction. When the *Inhabitants* were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an *Enemy*, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadful to them, and to drown so great a part of their Soil, for the preservation of the rest; and to complicate together all the *Miseries* that a *Nation* can dread, when to the general consternation, with which so dismall a *Scene* possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their *Army* was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble *Troops*, after a *Peace* at hand of almost thirty *Years* continuance, and while their chief *Ally*, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great paralitick body,

ker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and tho
 crush them, than to give them any considerable assi-
 stance: When, I say, a *young Prince* came at the *Head* of
 all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damp-
 an ordinary Courage, he very quickly changed the *Scene*,
 he animated the *Publick Councils* with a generous vigour:
 he found them sinking into a feebleness of hearkning to
Propositions for a *Peace*, that were as little safe as they were
 honourable; but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding
 all, rather than to submit to such Infamous Terms. His cre-
 dit also among the *Populace* seemed to Inspire them with a
 new life; they easily persuaded themselves, that as one
 WILLIAM Prince of ORANGE had formed their *State*,
 so here another of the same name seemed marked out to
 recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of *Courage* which
 he derived from his own *Breast*, and Infused into the whole
People, as well as into the *Magistracy*, that preserved
 this *Country*. Something there was in all this that was
 Divine. The *publick Councils* were again settled, and the
 people were at quiet, when they saw him vested with a full
Authority for that time with Relation to *Peace* and *War*,
 and concluded they were safe, because they were in his
 hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the *In-*
terest of his *Country*, and how little he regarded his own.
 He rejected all *Propositions of Peace* that were hurtful
 to his *Country*, without so much as considering the Ad-
 vantages that were offered to himself, (in which you know
 that I write upon sure grounds.) He refused the offer
 of the *Sovereignty* of its *Chief City*, that was made
 to him by a solemn *Deputation*, being satisfied with
 that *Authority* which had been so long maintained by his
Ancestors with so much glory, and being justly sensible,
 how much the breaking in upon established *Laws* and *Li-*
berties, is fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He
 thus began his publick appearance on the *Stage*, with all
 the disadvantages that a *Spirit* aspiring to true Glory could
 wish for; since it was Visible, that he had nothing to
 trust to, but a good Cause; a favourable Providence,

and his own Integrity and Courage; nor was success waiting to such Noble Beginnings; for he in a short time, with a *Conduct* and *Spirit* beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen, recovered this *State*, out of so desperate a distemper, took some *Places* by main force, and obliged the *Enemy* to abandon all that they had acquired in so feeble a manner. And if a raw *Army* had not always success, against more numerous and better-trained *Troops*, and if the want of *Magazines* and *Stores* in their *Allys* Country, which was the chief *Scene* of the *War*; made that he could not *Post* his *Army*, and wait for favourable circumstances, so that he was sometimes, forced to run to *Action*, with a haste that his Necessity imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the beginnings of a *Victory* out of the hands of the greatest *General* of the *Age*, the facing a great *Monarch* with an *Army* much inferior to his, when the other was too cautious to hazard an engagement; and in short, the forming the *Dutch Army* to such a pitch, that it became visibly *Superior* to the *French*, that seemed to have been fed with *Conquests*; and the continuing the *War*, till the *Prince* that had sacrificed the quiet of *Europe* to his *Glory*, was glad to come and treat for a *Peace* in the *Enemies* Country, and in this very place, and to set all *Engines* on work to obtain that, by the *Mediation* of some, and the *Jealousies* of other *Princes*: all these are such Performances, that *Posterity* will be disposed to rank them rather among the *Ideas* of what an imaginary *Hero* could do, than with what could be really Transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion, every place that belonged to these *States*, and to their *Neighbours* along the *Rhine*, together with a great many in *Flanders*, being restored, these *Provinces* do now see themselves under his happy *Conduct*, re-established in their former *Peace* and *Security*. And tho some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves considered on all hands, as the *Black-mark* of *Christendom*, against the Fears of a new *Monarchy*, and as the Preservers of the *Peace* and *Liberty* of *Europe*.

Here

From N I M M E G E N. 219

Here is a *Harvest*, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a severe and sincere *Historian*, capable of affording a Work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyricks of mercenary Pens: but a small or a counterfeit *Jewel* must be set with all possible Advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a *greater Subject*; and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long, to the heat that so Noble an *Object* inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

Y O U R S.

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An APPENDIX,

Containing some *Remarks*, that have been sent to me by a *Person of Quality*.

A Person of great Rank, that is of Italian extraction, and that by consequence knows the Countrey well, having spent much of his time in it, had heard that I was giving the World an account of the Reflections that I had made on the present State of Italy, and upon that he writ the following Paper to one of his Friends, to be communicated to me; for I have not the honour of any Commerce with himself: The Observations that he had made, agreed so exactly with my own, that I thought it would be no small Advantage towards the supporting the Credit of those that I had made, to find them confirmed by so extraordinary a Person, whose Character (as those who know him well have assured me) is undisputed, that if I durst name him, this alone would serve to establish the belief of the most critical parts of my Letters in the minds of all that should read his Paper: but since I cannot adventure on this, without obtaining his Leave, and since he is now at such a distance, that it is not easie to get his Friend to write to him, or to receive an Answer from him time enough, therefore I have added this Memorial. There are two Particulars in which He and I differ, and in so great a Variety of Observations, that are so Critical, and so much out of the Common road, it will not appear strange, if there should be some disagreement, when he mentions the Tax that the Pope has laid on the Corn; he does not ad one thing which I mention, and that is, that the Measure, by which the Pope sells, is by a fifth part less than that by which he buys; The other is more considerable; for in the Account that he gives of the present Pope's breaking in upon the settlement of the Bank, tho' it is upon the matter very near the same with that which I give, yet there is a difference of some Importance

as to the manner of doing it; but as to that, all I can say, is, that the first Account I had of that Transaction, was the same that is in this Gentlemans Paper; but afterwards I had occasion to talk of this matter very Copiously with one, that has lived many years in the Popes Dominions, and that has dealt much in those Affairs; he has now a Character upon him, and so it is not expedient to name him: It was from him that I had the particular recital of this matter, and therefore I thought it surer to go upon the Information that I had from him, than upon the general Report that all Strangers may find at Rome. This Paper had been more copious, if the person that writ it, had not been restrained by some particular Considerations from saying any thing relating to the Government of Venice.

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REMARKS.

UPON SWITZERLAND.

IT is very surprising when one comes out of *France*, (which is an Extraordinary good Country) into *Switzerland*, which is not near so fertile, and yet to see so great a difference between the *People* of those two Countries. The *People* in *France*, and especially the *Peasants*, are very poor, and most of them reduced to great Misery and Want. The *People* in *Switzerland* cannot be said to be very Rich; but yet there are very few, even amongst the *Peasants* themselves that are miserably poor; the most part of them have enough to live upon, from their Labour, and the Fruits of the Earth. Every where in *France*, even in the best *Cities*, there are Swarms of *Beggars*; and yet scarce any to be seen throughout all *Switzerland*. The Houses of the *Peasants*, or Country people in *France* are extremely mean, and in them no other Furniture to be found besides poor nasty Beds, straw Chairs, and Plates and dishes of Wood and Earth: In *Switzerland* the *Peasants* have their Houses furnished with good Feather-Beds, good Chairs, and other Householdstuff for their Convenience, as well as their Necessity; their Windows are all of glass, always kept mended and whole, and their Linnen very neat and white, and as well for their Bedding as their Tables.

Of the GRISONS Country.

THe *Grisons* Country is much more Barren than *Switzerland*; because 'tis wholly upon the *Mountains*, which produce nothing at all; yet notwithstanding (all Excess and Luxury being banished from amongst them, and the Inhabitants being extremely Laborious) there are none to be seen there that are very poor and needy.

but they live at Ease and there are a great many; Gentry of good Estates. Their *Government* is altogether *Popular*; there are but three or four Royalties belonging to Nobility in all the Country. All the rest of their Lands are in *Demeane*, which may yet well be called Royalties too; because exempt from all dues and payments whatsoever. There is nothing at all to be pay'd for bringing into the Country any sort of Goods or Merchandises, or for exporting of them thence; every one there fully enjoys the Fruit of his own Labours, and the Revenues of his Land; although the Wine they drink is brought upon Horses four or five days Journey, yet they have it cheaper there than in most parts of *Italy* or *France*, where it so plentifully grows. There are *Villages* upon the very tops of the *Mountains*, consisting of 150. and 200 Houses apiece; and altho' they have no Corn or Grain that grows there, and but very little Grass, yet the *Peasants* keep three or four hundred Horses, which they imploy to carry Goods and Merchandises, which turns to so good account that they live very well, and want nothing either for the Necessity or Convenience of life. The *Inns* upon the *Mountains* are very good; and there is always to be had, besides good Bread and Wine, great quantity of Game and Venison, according to the Season of the Year, good Trouts, very good Chambers, and Beds after the manner of the Country. When you leave the *Grisons* Country, and are come into the Country of *Chavanne*, the People begin to speak broken *Italian*: altho' this latter is a more fertile Country, yet the Inhabitants and *Peasants* do not live so well as in the *Grisons* Country, for that the Natives are more slothful and lazy: and here again there are abundance of poor People, as you will find in all parts of *Italy*.

Of the Bailiages of LUGANE.

Here are on the other side of the *Mountains* four *Bailiages*, which were formerly part of the *Dutchy of Milan*; *Lewis XII.* when he lost that *Dutchy*, gave these

these *Bailiages* to some of the *Switz Cantons*. These *Bailiages* are called, *Lugane*, *Lucarno*, *Mendris*, and *Belinston*. I shall only take notice of the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*, which contains ninety nine *Villages*; The Territories of this *Bailiage* and of the others, are not near so good as that of *Milan*, to which it joyns; yet the *Villages* of this *Bailiage* are very populous; the Land is very fruitful, because it is well cultivated; and all the *Inhabitants* live contented and well; there are no *Beggars* amongst them, nor hardly any Object of Misery and Want: Their Houses are all good, well built, and kept in good repair. The Territory of *Milan* is certainly one of the best in all *Italy*; it produceth Wine, Corn and Oyl in abundance, very great quantity of Silk, and (generally speaking) all sorts of Fruits; there is also excellent Pasture for Cattle, and yet the *Peasants* there do not live so well by much as in the *Bailiage* of *Lugane*; for there is a great deal of Land that lyes unmanur'd, and the Country is not near so populous as in *Lugane*. There can be no other Reason given for this Difference, but that *Milan* is under the Dominion of *Spain*: That the *People* are loaden with *Imposts*, *Subsidies* and *Taxes*, which makes them very poor; whereas the *People* of *Lugane* are under the Government of *Switzerland*, who put no *Taxes* or *subsidies* upon them.

Remarks upon the LAKES.

I Do not know that in the Kingdom of *France*, as it was thirty years since, there were any *Lakes*, except perhaps in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*. From the Lake of *Four* to the Lake of *Garde*, which is at *Desenesan*, between *Bresse* and *Veronne*, in the Territories of *Venice*, there are a great number of *Lakes*; one of the most considerable is that of *Genera*; then there is the Lake of *Newchattel*, the Lake of *Yverdun*, the Lake of *Morat*, the Lake of *Biemme*, the Lake of *Quinti*, the Lake of *Lucerne*, the Lake of *Constance*, the Lake of *Valestat*, and many others in the Mountains of *Switzerland*. There is on the other side the Mountains a great and considerable Lake, called *Como*, also the Lake

Lake of *Lugane*, the *Lake Major*, which is above 60 miles long, and likewise the *Lake de Garde*: All these *Lakes* are replenish'd with most excellent Fish, and particularly *Trouts*; but in the *Lake de Garde* there is found an admirable Fish, called *Carpion*, which is far more delicate than either *Trout* or *Salmon*, but they are not so great; for those of the largest size do not weigh above fifteen pounds. I do not think that in any part of *Europe* there are so many fine *Lakes* to be found in so narrow a Compass, as those which I have here mentioned.

Concerning the Dutchy of FERRARA.

THE Duke of *Ferrara* hath always been but a little Prince, because his *Dominions* are not very great; yet there have been several of the said *Dukes* for above 150 years ago, and since, that have made a handsome Figure, and held a considerable Rank amongst the *Princes of Italy*. The Country was formerly very populous, and the Lands being fertil, and well cultivated, the Revenue of the Prince were considerable, and he kept a good Court. But since that *Dutchy* is devolved upon the *See of Rome*, by the Death of the last *Duke*, who dyed without Issue Male, the Country is almost depopulated; the most part of the Lands are desolate; and for several Years last past the *Dutchy* is infected with Diseases, purely for want of Inhabitants. There were formerly in the Time of the *Dukes of Ferrara*, more than one hundred thousand People, and at present there are not 15000. The Grass grows in the Streets and most of the Houses are void,

Polesino is one of the best parts of *Italy*; and that part of it which is possessed by the *Venetians*, is very well cultivated and populous; and 'tis one of the best of their small Provinces. As soon as you pass the great Arm of the River *Po*, which is called the *Lagoscuro*, which separates that part of the *Polesino* which belongs to the *Venetians*, from that which belongs to the *Pope*; although the Land and Country is the very same, yet the most part of those

Lands of the *Polesino*, which belongs to the *Ecclesiastical State*, are desolate and wast: The Grass lies withered and rotten upon the ground, because there is no body takes care to mow it; and in passing through great Villages, you'll find all the Houses abandon'd, and not one Inhabitant to be found. It is not easily to be imagined how it is possible, that a Country so populous and flourishing, should in less than 80 years be so entirely ruined and dispeopled: by this it is very apparent, that no Subjects are so unhappy, as those that live under the Domination of the Clergy.

Concerning the Estates of BOLOGNIA.

IF the Popes had been able to have made themselves masters of *Bologna*, as they have done of *Ferrara*, they would thereby have reduced it to the same miserable condition; but *Bologna* hath always preserved their Privileges and the Civil Government, by means of the *Gonfaloniers*, under whom they are governed; they have the right of sending *Embassadors* to the Pope, who enjoy the same Prerogatives as do the *Embassadors* of the other free *Princes* and *States*: The Pope cannot confiscate the Goods of any Subject of *Bologna* for any Crime whatsoever. The great Mischiefs which too frequently happen here, more than in other parts, are *Assassinations* and *Murders*; those that commit them fly for shelter to some of the Churches, as to an inviolable *Asylum*, from whence the *Legats* themselves cannot bring them to be punished; or perhaps they retire into the Country, into some Strong hold, or into the Territories of a Neighbouring Prince, where they are certainly secure, and there remain until the *Legation* of the then *Cardinal* be finished, and afterwards make an agreement with the Successor, who for Money pardons them (having Power so to do) all the Crimes and Murders they have committed: In other respects the People of *Bologna* are very happy, and live in great plenty, for that the Country is mighty fruitful, and they pay no Taxes to the Prince.

Remarks

Remarks upon the Country of the Great Duke
of TUSCANY.

Here are in this Great Dukedom three considerable Cities, *Florence*, *Pisa*, and *Sienna*. All those who have read the *History of Italy*, do know, that *Pisa* was formerly a very powerful *Commonwealth*, that it flourished in Trade and Commerce, and that there were a great many wealthy Citizens belonging to it; there needs no other proof of this, than what we read, that upon a certain occasion a hundred of the Citizens equip'd each of them a *Gally* at their own Charges, which they maintained during all the War. The great Actions are well known which they have done in the *Levant* by their Fleets, and how they a long time opposed the *Duke of Florence*, who at length subdued them by the Assistance of the *Spanish Arms*.

Pisa is one of the largest and most beautiful Cities of *Italy*; the Buildings are stately and fine; & so is one of their Churches, which with its Dependencies is one of the finest in all *Italy*. The City is built upon the River of *Arno*, which divides it in the midst; it is navigable for Vessels of a great burthen, and at *Ligorne*, which is twelve Miles distance, it falls into the Sea. It is one of the best situated Towns in all *Italy* for Trade, with which it flourished extremely whilst it was a *Republick*: at present not only the City, but the Country belonging to it, is wholly depopulated. Writers say, that there were formerly above one hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants, whereas now there are not twelve thousand. The Grass grows in most of the Places & Streets of the City, and most of the Houses are deserted, and lye void. I was my self in a fair large Pallace, which was let for six Pistoles per annum; the greatest part of their Lands lye wast, and the Air is very unhealthy in most parts, because of the small number of Inhabitants. The *Duke of Florence* thought there was no way to secure himself of this great City; but by depopulating of it, and ruining the Trade, which rendred it so potent, so that at present there is not any Trade there at all.

The

The City of *Sienna* was also formerly a very fine *Common Wealth*, and had in it many noble, rich, and powerful Families; but since that the *Duke of Florence* hath reduced it to his Obedience, he hath ruined most of the Nobility and Gentry, many of them retiring into *France*, and into the territories of some of the *Princes of Italy*.

As to the City of *Florence* it self, it is extremely decayed to what it was since it came under the Government of the House of *Medicis*. It is plain from the History of *Machiavil*, and other *Italian* Authors that lived in those times, that it was three times more populous when it was a *Republick*, than it is now. The *Great Duke* keeping his Court and residence there, one would think should make the City flourish the more; yet it wants a great deal of that Lustre and Splendor it had when it was a *Commonwealth*.

Remarks upon the Temporal Government of the P O P E.

Here are certainly very few *People* so miserable, as those who live under the Dominion of the *Pope*: most of the *States of Italy*, and where there are the most Subsidies and Impositions, have not put any tax upon *Corn* and *Grain* which make *Bread*, because there is no person, tho never so miserable, that can subsist without it; there is that humanity and regard had to the *People*, in not laying *Taxes* upon *Bread*, because 'tis the common Nourishment and absolutely necessary even for the most Indigent and Poor; tho Impositions are laid without scruple upon *Wine* and other *Merchandises*, because they are not so necessary as *Bread* yet the *Pope* makes no scruple to lay very great Impositions upon *Corn* and *Bread* throughout all his *Dominions*, except in those places that have yet preserved their Liberties. It was *Donna Olimpia*, that during the Pontificat of *Innocent the X.* began to put *Taxes* and *Imposts* upon *Corn*, and made such *Laws* which have ruined the most part of the great Nobility and Gentry, that live under the *Ecclesiastical Government*, who had their revenues consisting in *Corn*. All the *Popes* who have reigned since *Innocent's* time, have found such

such a great Advantage to themselves by these Laws of *Donna Olympia*, that they have continued them ever since; and it is at present a very Considerable part of the Ecclesiastical Revenue. The substance of which said Law or Ordinance is this, That no person whatsoever is suffered to sell Corn to any Strangers; but all those that have any, are obliged to sell it at a price certain to the Ecclesiastical Chamber; which is not at the most above one moiety of the real Value; and then the Ecclesiastical Chamber sells it again at double the price. In Italy there is no person, either in City or Country, in the Popes Dominions, who is permitted to make their own Bread, but every one is obliged to buy it of the Bakers, who are appointed by the Chamber; in each Village and Burrough there is but one Baker Established by the Chamber to make and sell Bread; the Baker is obliged to take the Corn of the Chamber at a certain price, and to make the Bread of such a quality and weight, and to sell it at a price Certain. In the great Cities, as at Rome, there are Very many Bakers, who are all obliged to buy a certain quantity of Corn of the Ecclesiastical Chamber for a whole Year to come, which they pay for beforehand, and give ten Crowns the Salme or measure, when at the same time the Chamber bought it of the particular persons for five Crowns, at the beginning of the year, all the Bakers are obliged to take the same Quantity of Corn for the Year ensuing, altho sometimes they have a great deal of the last years Corn upon their hands, which they must deliver to the Chamber for five Crowns the Salme or measure, and then the very same Corn is sold them again for ten Crowns. I do not believe that there is any Country in the World, that draws more profit from their Subjects for Corn, than the Pope doth in his Dominions, which hath been partly the Cause of the ruin of the Ecclesiastical Estate, since the Establishment of the said Law, which was about thirty years since: the Country is unpeopled, and great part of the Lands lie void and uncultivated, because it is not worth while to manure them, when the greatest advantage and profit, arising thereby, goes to the Pope. In travelling through the Ecclesiastical Terri-

Territories in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, there are vast quantities of Land unmanured. A Traveller passing through the Estate of a *Roman Prince*, told the Prince upon his return to *Naples*, he would if he pleased send him Husbandmen that should manure his Land; thinking that it had been for want of Labourers that the Lands lay void and waste. The Prince told him, that he did not want people to cultivate his Lands; but because they were obliged to sell all their Corn and Grain to the Chamber at a Very Low Price, it would not quit Cost to Manure and Cultivate it.

*Touching the Reduction of the Interest of money
Due by the MONTES at Rome from 4 to 3 per Cent.*

EVERY body almost knows what 't is which in *Italy*, & especially at *Rome*, they call the *Montes*; it is much like the Rents upon the Town house at *Paris*. The *Popes* having occasion of money, borrow great sums of particular Persons at 4 per Cent Interest; This they call at *Rome* the Establishment of the *Monte*, that is, the Creation of certain Officers, and the assignment of several Rents for the payment of those who have lent Money to the *Pope*. The present *Pope*, finding the Chamber engaged to the annual payments of I know not how many Millions of *Roman Crowns* Interest, to those that had lent Money upon the *Monte*, resolved in part to reduce and lessen the great Sum of Money which the Interest amounted to, and having for this purpose raised several Millions of *Roman Crowns*, he acquainted those that had money upon the *Monte*, that they should come and receive their principal money, unless they would take 3 per cent Interest for the 4 per cent which they formerly received; whereupon, there being really no Trade in all the Ecclesiastical Territories, and the Lands worth nothing, and that the Estates of the Nobility were all sold to a penny, all Persons who had Money upon the *Monte*, not knowing how to Employ it to advantage elsewhere, let it there remain, contenting themselves with three per cent instead of four per cent, which they had before; So that by this means every one concerned lost a fourth part of their

their yearly Income, and the *Chamber* got I know not how many Millions of *Crowns* yearly by this Retrenchment of one per cent.

It is almost incredible the Immence Sums the *Pope* hath raised by retrenching of many superfluous Expences, and extinguishing several Offices to which great Salleries were paid by the *Ecclesiastical Chamber*, and by divers other means. Those who are well informed in the^e matters, do for certain affirm, that all the Subsidies which the *Pope* hath remitted to the *Emperor* and *King of Poland*, to carry on the *War* against the *Turks*, are not the thirtieth part of the Money which he hath treasured up; altho likewise he hath pay'd many Debts of the *Chamber*, which were not chargeable upon the *Montes*.

I ought not here to omit relating, that the *Inns*, especially in *Tuscany*, in *Romania*, and between *Rome* and *Naples*, are very sordid and incommodious, one may give a pretty good guess at the prodigious Wealth belonging to the *Clergy* in the *Kingdom of Naples* by the great quantity of plate, Vessels and Statues of Silver in the *Churches*; and by the riches and magnificent Furniture of their Habitations, and Vestments of the *Priests*. One may upon the whole matter make this Important Reflection, that if the *King of Spain* doth not think of some expedient, to hinder the *Clergy* from Increasing their *Estates* in *Lands*, which they do daily, they will in a very little time become Masters of the greatest part of the *Kingdom of Naples*; for they are already possessed of more than the half of the *Lands* of that *Kingdom*, besides the other vast profits they make continually under pretence of *Service to the Church*, for their *Masses*, *Buildings*, *Burials*, *Marriages*, *Confessions*, and by their *Indulgences*, and the *Legacies* left them by Will.

Tho these are Remarks made in hast, yet they may be of use to the Author.

I know several very pleasant Stories of the *Jesuits* at *Naples*. The *Prince of Salerne* gave them the moiety of a great House which he had at *Naples*, and thereupon an Inscription was engaven in Capital Letters upon the Frontispice

respiece of the House, of the Donation thereof given to the *Jesuits* by the said Prince; within these few years the *Jesuites* have turn'd the *Heires* of the Prince of *Salerno* out of possession of the other Moiety of the said House, and have defaced the Inscription upon the House: and all this they have done by Colour of Law and Justice. Upon the first Establishment of the Society of *Jesuits*, the *Carthusians* of *Naples*, who are very rich, voluntarily assigned them a yearly *Pension* of several thousand Ducats; but the *Carthusians* perceiving that of late years several of the *Jesuits* were grown mighty rich, resolved to withdraw the said *Pension*; the *Jesuites* hereupon went to Law with them, and obtained Sentence, that the said *Pension* should be continued. The *Jesuits* have got a very considerable part of the Lands of the Nobility in the Kingdom of *Naples*. All the Religious, of what Order soever they be, who have Houses at *Naples*, have the Priviledge of purchasing all Houses that are contiguous to them on the one side or the other to the very end of the Street, in order to make their Houses entire and to stand alone like an *Island*; and for this purpose they have no more to do, than only pay the Proprietor for his House, not according to the present Value, but as it was last sold, perhaps 50, 60, or 100 years ago, and so hath descended from Father to Son successively to the person then in possession.

Many other very considerable Remarks might be made of the divers Tricks and Methods the *Clergy* of this Kingdom make use of to wheedle and trapan the *Laity* out of their *Estates*.

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